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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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PRICE TWO CENTS

## KERN, THE COWARD

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE RUNS AWAY FROM SOCIALIST CHALLENGE.

Dodges Proposition to Debate a Specific Proposition and Tries to Escape—Is Hauled Over the Coals and Pursued by His Workingman Opponent—The Way it Happened.

Special to The Daily People.

"A JOINT DEBATE

"Being Arranged by the Socialist Labor Party—Congressman Kern Names Conditions.

"Collinsville, Ill., Sept. 24.—Congressman Fred J. Kern was waited on on Thursday evening by a committee of Socialists who carried a challenge inviting him for joint debate with William W. Cox of Collinsville, Ill., the Socialist Labor Party candidate for Congress in the Twenty-second District.

"Mr. Kern promptly accepted the challenge on condition that a similar challenge be accepted by Mr. Rodenberg, the Republican candidate for Congress, to be present and participate in the same joint debate and also that an invitation be extended to the Prohibition candidate for Congress for him to be present and take a hand in the controversy.

"In case a joint debate can be arranged between all of the candidates, at which Mr. Rodenberg will be present and participate, Mr. Kern assured the committee of the Socialists of his willingness to pay one-half of the amount of the hall rent and one-half towards defraying the expenses of a first-class brass band.

"The above shows the whip-the-Devil-around-the-stump fashion Kern has of sneaking out of meeting one of the standard bearers of the only workingman's party in the United States in a public debate before the workmen of the District in which he is asking for their votes, that he may be re-elected to Congress, and is about the same as the committee reported and their conference with him.

"This method (a challenge in the hands of a committee) was taken because Kern, after accepting a public challenge, issued by our candidate in 1900, sneaked out of it, by claiming his dates were all taken up. The following is the challenge, showing that he was not challenged as a candidate for representative in Congress on the Democratic ticket, as he would make it appear, but on a specific proposition. When he meets me on this proposition he will be re-challenged as my opponent for office.

Collinsville, Ill., Sept. 2, 1902.  
Mr. Fred J. Kern, candidate on the Democratic ticket for representative in Congress, from the new 22d Congressional District of Illinois, Election, November 4th.

Dear Sir: In your remarks before the miners of Collinsville and in the hearing of all other citizens present on the occasion of the celebration of what is known as Labor Day, on the first of September, 1902, you made the following statements, to which some of the miners, myself among them, took exception. You stated that there never had been, there is not now, nor would there ever be any conflict between Labor and Capital; that their interests were mutual, but that the fight was between Labor and Monopoly.

Second, you stated that the only way for the miners to seek redress for their grievances was through their organization, namely the union.

Now, upon these two statements, I challenge you to a public debate before the miners and all other citizens in this congressional district, a committee from the Democratic party to meet a like committee from the Socialist Labor Party for which I am a candidate for Representative in Congress from the same district to make all necessary arrangements, according to the parliamentary rules for public debates, upon the following propositions:

First, Resolved that there never was any conflict, there is now no conflict, and there never will be any conflict between Capital (meaning capitalists) and Labor (meaning laborers), but that the conflict is between Labor (meaning laborers) and Monopoly (meaning the trusts). Fred J. Kern to affirm, Will W. Cox to deny.

Second, Resolved that the miners, or no other craft or even the whole of the working class will ever be able to permanently settle any of their grievances imposed upon them by capital (meaning the capitalist class) through their organization, namely, the union, i. e., the American Federation of Labor, including all its affiliated bodies or any other labor union which forbids the discussion of politics in their union, but has for membership instructions for independent political action. Will W. Cox to affirm; Fred J. Kern to deny.

Now, Mr. Kern, if you consider the miners men, as you told them they were, and that your statements are correct, if you are sincere, you will accept the challenge and meet me in debate, refute my arguments, thereby making votes for yourself. If you don't accept, I shall use this stamp you a coward throughout this district. Awaiting your acceptance, I remain, yours, Will W. Cox, candidate for Representative in Congress from the 22d District, Ill.

After Mr. Kern's prompt acceptance

## WORKINGMEN AND TRUSTS

An Address to Those Employed in Shop, Factory, Mill and Mine, and Who are Members of Trades Unions.

Fellow Workingmen:—

In the coming election, the one issue that is likely to overshadow all other issues is the so-called trust issue. All the political parties will express themselves on the trust. They will appeal to you, as the ones most vitally concerned, to endorse their attitude by your ballot, and, according as you vote, will it be said that the working class stands on the trust question. It accordingly, behooves you to consider well how you should vote, so that you may vote rightly on a matter fraught with so much importance to you and the interests of your class. With this thought and purpose in view this leaflet is offered for your consideration. Don't throw it away. Read it and when you have finished it, pass it to some fellow workman who has not got a copy of it.

What is a Trust?

First, in order to be clear, let us find out what a trust is. According to popular belief, a trust is composed of a number of corporations or firms combined or consolidated for the purpose of monopolizing industry. According to capitalist contention a trust is an organization for the prevention of the wastes of competition. Both the belief and the contention are correct. A trust seeks to monopolize industry by economy and the prevention of competition, as seen in the closing of superfluous and competing establishments. But this not all there is to a trust. A trust is in addition to these things, a natural growth. It has sprung from the small cross country road shop and store. It has passed through individual, partnership and corporate forms of industrial ownership, much as a man passes through childhood, boyhood and youth to manhood. To-day the trust is no longer like the small country shop and store, run by one man, with simple tools, who takes all the products as his own. It is operated by thousands of men working together with huge steam machinery in huge factories, who are paid wages, while their products go to the small number of men, called capitalists, who own that machinery and those factories and who are the trust. These capitalists sell the products thus obtained for more than the wages paid and keep the difference, after paying for raw material, in the form of profits for themselves. This profit is stupendous. The census of 1900 shows that "the net product of the manufacturing and mechanical industries in 1890 was \$383 millions of dollars (factory prices). The total amount of wages paid to the 5,320,000 workers who produced it was \$200 millions of dollars. The share of labor was therefore 27 per cent. of the value of its product at factory prices." Thus we see that besides being a natural growth, the trust is a means of more rapidly crushing out the small middle class, and dividing society into workers and capitalists, the first

of whom own no capital, produce wealth and are robbed; the second of whom own capital, produce no wealth and rob.

Are Trusts Beneficial?

Despite this creation of class divisions and working class robbery, the claim is made that trusts are beneficial, that they raise wages, lower prices and give work to all. As to wages, the figures of the prosperous census year of 1900, show that the average annual wages per worker was \$437, as against \$444 in 1890, an actual loss of 2 per cent. In 1900, according to the same index of prosperity, the product of each worker was valued at \$2450; in 1890 \$2200, or a difference of nearly 10 per cent. In other words, the wage worker got 2 per cent. less in 1900 for producing 10 per cent. more than he did in 1890. As to prices, Dun's index of prices for June 1, 1900, showed an increase of 2 per cent. over the prices of January 1, 1890. Since 1900, matters have grown worse, as every workingman who eats meat and burns coal knows. Dun's index of prices showed an increase of 62 per cent. in prices between January 1, 1900, and January 1, 1902. As to work for all, the same census figures, for the same prosperous year, show that in 1900, the highest number of workers employed in any month in the State of Massachusetts was 623,000; while the average number employed during the entire year was 497,000. Thus the average number of unemployed in Massachusetts amounted to 126,000 or 20 per cent. In Pennsylvania the result was even worse. The greatest number of employed was 925,000; average number 735,000, a difference of 21 per cent. In the great mechanical manufacturing State of New York, the highest number was 1,081,000; average number 849,000, or a difference of over 22 per cent. In Ohio, the proportion was 23 1/2 per cent.; in Wisconsin 27; in Indiana 39; in Texas 40 per cent. Aside from the questions of wages, prices and employment raised in the trust discussion another matter of vital importance to the working class must be considered; that is, the alarming increase of "accidents" in which labor is slaughtered, owing to the strenuous activity of trust production. According to the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission 612 employees were killed and \$299 were injured on the trustified railroads of this country during January, February and March. Think of it! Nearly 9000 employees killed and injured in three months, an average of 100 a day! Again the reports of the authorities of Allegheny county, Pa.—in which is located the city of Pittsburgh, the center of the steel and other great trusts—show that 2000 persons met violent death there during 1901, mainly as a result of furnace explosions, converter break downs and other mill and factory disasters. The loss of life in the mines is well known, the disaster in the Cambria Steel Company's mine at Johnstown, Pa., being still fresh in the public mind. So too are the many other wide-

spread accidents heralded from day to day in the press of the country. Thus we see that trusts mean lower wages, intensified labor, increased cost of living, idleness and slaughter for the working class.

What's To Be Done?

The trusts have become the object of much criticism, denunciation and consideration. Their monopolistic character, their accentuation of class divisions, their effects on wages, prices, employment and life, have caused many remedies to be proposed for their cure. The Democrats want the trusts "busted" by the enactment of anti-trust legislation, and the removal of freight discriminations and tariff duties. Anti-trust legislation is useless. Trusts have steadily grown despite the laws declaring them combinations in restraint of trade, as witness the development of the Beef Trust in the face of the prosecution of its constituent companies for violating the anti-trust laws. Freight discriminations are unknown in France, Austria, Germany and Russia, where the railroads are largely owned by the government; yet trusts are flourishing in all of them, so much so, that Russia wants an international convention to consider them.

The absence of tariff duties has not prevented the formation of trusts in England, as witness the recent great iron and steel and shipping consolidations. Free trade cannot destroy the great international trusts such as the Thread, Electrical, Rubber, Condensed Milk, Oil and other trusts. The Republicans want publicity, national control and tariff revision. What more publicity can be desired? Is there a workingman who isn't informed upon the workings of the trusts? Who hasn't felt them in the intensified labor of "his" shop, in the high priced food-stuffs in his pantry and the outrageously high priced coal in his scuttle? Who hasn't felt them in his inferior social and economic relations with the so-called "upper classes" and capitalist class? And, who, finally, has not read the newspaper, legislative and other exposures of their manipulations in stocks, food corners, etc., etc.? If there be such a workingman let him himself back to the source from whence he came. National control by legislation is futile. Railroads against whom there was formerly much State—so-called granger—legislation, are now controlled by national legislation known as the Interstate Commerce Act. Yet the evils of railroad discrimination and rebates continue undiminished; while competition, disinterested authorities characterize the Interstate Commission to whom the railroads must make reports, as a body that is perfectly harmless to the railroads and perfectly useless to the public. Tariff revision like tariff reduction is puerile. The trusts of America are defeating the nations of the world in the markets of the world. It is absurd, then, to think that those nations can defeat the trusts in their own stronghold. Again, according to the Democratic campaign handbook,

25 per cent. of the trusts are not protected by the tariff and will not, consequently, be affected by tariff revision. Trusts are more powerful than legal restrictions, as the capitalist class which owns them, makes the law, or else breaks it, by controlling the legislative and judicial functions of government that make and enforce the law. Trusts are more powerful than tariffs, because they are organized internationally and are the outgrowth of competition under both free trade and protection.

What is the Remedy?

Trusts are likely to continue in their natural growth and assume greater size. Combinations of vast national and international dimensions are predicted. Already the great billion and a half Steel Trust, with its immense ore properties, lake lines, railroads and trans-Atlantic steamships, affords an indication of what the future trust will be like; while J. Pierpont Morgan, who aided in the formation of this stupendous undertaking, is reported to have stated, that the possibilities of consolidation, are only beginning to be realized. What, then, is to be done? Knowing as we do the bad results accruing from trusts, knowing as we do the impossibility of their restriction or destruction by Democratic and Republican remedies, knowing as we do the possibilities of their further expansion and multiplication, we ask again, what is to be done? In order to make intelligent answer, let us retrace our steps some. Trusts, as shown above, are monopolies based on economical and large production, operated by thousands of workers who are paid wages and are robbed; and owned by a few capitalists, who reap the benefits in the form of profits and are robbers. We have seen that, as a result of the natural growth of the capitalist-owned trust, society is being more rapidly divided into two broad classes, the capitalist and the working class. These two classes have antagonistic interests, and, as the coal and other strikes show, are arrayed against each other in industrial strife, in which the courts and the militia play a conspicuous and bloody part. Now, as trusts are a means of economical and large production, co-operatively conducted by thousands, and a natural growth capable of greater expansion, in spite of laws and tariffs, it is folly to talk of restricting or destroying them. What must be done is to change their ownership so that they will be owned as they are operated—co-operatively and collectively. What must be done is to make them the property of the great working class, so that the great benefits which accrue from them in the shape of wealth will go to the great mass of the people—the working class, instead of going as at present, to the enrichment of a few—the capitalist class. Trusts do not do this at present—in this lies their great weakness. Instead of being mighty engines for the general advancement of the great mass of the people organized in the working class—

the dynamos of a higher civilization—the trusts are budoogens used for the material aggrandizement of the capitalist class, a class, which, owing to the evolution of industry has become a useless and immoral set, without function and without aspirations. The desired change can only be brought about, we repeat, by making the trust the property of society—of the great majority of the people—the workers, who operate them while their owners, the trust magnates are breaking the bank at Monte Carlo or invoking the denunciatory wrath of a Henry Watterson, by their scandalous licentiousness and immorality. In this way only, will the immense harm, which the trusts do, be removed; while their benefits are saved to society. The trusts will either own society or society must own the trusts. Since the interest of the workers and the capitalists are antagonistic this change must be brought about by the workers themselves. To look to the parties of the capitalist class—the Republican, Democratic and Social Democratic—for this change is to look to the devil for the promotion of piety. The capitalist class, estimated at 200,000 individuals, receives annually one-half the entire wealth production of the United States. In other words, after labor has received about one-quarter of the \$20,000,000,000 (commercial value) produced annually in the United States, and the commercial and farming classes another quarter, the capitalist class pockets the remainder, which reaches the stupendous sum of \$10,000,000,000. These few—the capitalist class—own the land, the factories, the mines, the railroads and the telegraphs, in fewer words, the capital that is created and operated by thousands and thousands of workers, who are dependent upon it to sustain life and attain liberty. To believe that the parties of capitalism will advocate and work for social ownership of the trusts, is to believe that the capitalist class will surrender this enormous income and capital. The working class must, therefore, look to itself. It has the numbers, the intelligence and the manhood through which to emancipate itself. It must seize the powers of government by means of a political party of its own. It must vote for men of its own class who act in accord with their class interests. It must make trusts social property and abolish capitalism in all its forms. Fellow workingmen! be not deceived. Do not believe that the evils of trusts and capitalism can be ended by any other method or any other means. There is no escape excepting through the Socialist Labor Party, the only party that recognizes the necessity of social ownership and the existence of class divisions and interests and that organizes and conducts itself accordingly. Workingmen, this is the party of your class. Study its principles, read its organs, join its organization and vote its ticket. Remember no issue is settled by dodging it. Vote, then, to settle the trust issue according to the programme of your class party, the Socialist Labor Party.

## CONNOLLY IN PATERSON

Good Audience Grooms Him Despite Inclement Weather—Irish Bondage Explained.

Special to The Daily People.

Pateron, N. J., Sept. 21.—Despite the inclement weather an audience of about 300 persons greeted James Connolly in Turn Hall, last Friday night. The meeting was called to order by the chairman, Comrade Berdan, who opened the meeting with a few remarks and introduced Comrade Geo. Herrschaft, of Jersey City, as the first speaker.

Herrschaft showed the workers the necessity of voting for their class interests, and in so doing, made clear how the capitalist class is careful to elect their emissaries, the Democratic, Republican and Reform parties to office, thus securing control of the police, the courts, the militia, in fewer words, all the powers of government, which are used to advance capitalist interests.

Comrade Herrschaft also spoke on the trust and pointed out the fact that it was an inevitable growth against which it was a fallacy to howl. The only solution for the trust is its collective ownership by the working class.

Chairman Berdan then introduced James Connolly, the Irish agitator. Connolly, after a few introductory remarks, proceeded with his address by showing the antagonism of interests between the capitalist class on one hand and the working class on the other, and proved by illustration the existence of the class struggle wherever the capitalist system exists.

Connolly then traced the condition of the Irish workingmen for the last one hundred years and showing the bondage of that class, which was traced to the capitalist ownership of the land, backed by an intolerable foreign government. The Irish agitator showed how, owing to the capitalist development going on in society, it is absolutely impossible for the Irish farmer, with his small farms and puny tools to compete successfully in the

Irish and English markets. As a result his condition is as bad to-day as any time in recent history. The dependence of the farming and working classes on the Irish landlord and capitalist classes was then shown, and the collective ownership of the land the modern means with which to operate it, as also the collective ownership of industrial capital, were emphasized and demanded.

Connolly closed with an eloquent appeal to workingmen to join the Socialist Labor Party and become independent of the capitalist class through the collective ownership of land and capital.

Over two hundred Weekly Peoples and a large number of leaflets were distributed. About twenty-five pamphlets, such as "What Means This Strike?" etc., were sold. Seven subscriptions were secured for the "Workers' Republic" of Dublin, of which Comrade Connolly is the editor.

C. Romary.

FIGHT FOR FREE SPEECH.

Section Buffalo Decides to Throw Down Gauntlet to the Police.

Special to The Daily People.

Buffalo, N. Y., Sept. 30.—Section Buffalo, acting upon the advice of its lawyer, has determined to continue its fight for free speech. The Campaign Committee has accordingly decided to ignore the orders of the police prohibiting the holding of street meetings and is arranging a series to be held on the principal corners of the city. The first of these is booked for Friday, October 3, 8 p. m., corner Main and Genesee streets. Comrade Boris Reinstein, candidate for Secretary of New York State, will be the principal speaker. Robert Roadhouse, of London, Ontario, will also speak. Both Reinstein and Roadhouse have been arrested before for maintaining the right of free speech, Reinstein in Buffalo and Roadhouse in Hamilton.

The readers of The Weekly People are urged to attend this meeting and show by their attendance that they uphold the efforts of the S. L. P. to maintain free speech.

Owing to postal regulations, subscriptions for The Monthly People cannot be taken within the limits of Greater New York, except in Brooklyn, Queens and Richmond boroughs. In order to mail The Monthly People in Greater New York, with the exception of the boroughs mentioned, it would be necessary to affix a one-cent stamp to each copy.

CORREGAN IN NEW HAVEN.

Holds Two Rousing Meetings in the City of Elms and Factories.

Special to The Daily People.

New Haven, Conn., Sept. 22.—Comrade Corregan held two rousing meetings here in this city, noted for its Elms and factory wage slaves, on the 20th and 21st inst. The first meeting was held at the corner of Church and George streets, Saturday last, at 8 p. m. The meeting was opened by our candidate for governor, Comrade Ernest T. Oatley, who, after some well chosen remarks, introduced the speaker of the evening, Comrade Corregan.

By this time a crowd of at least 600 had gathered, nearly all wage workers, and they stayed right there and drank in eagerly every word the speaker uttered. Frequent applause greeted the telling points which Corregan made against the capitalist system of society, under which the workers groan; and called upon them to end it by studying Socialism and the platform of the Socialist Labor Party and by voting for their own interests by casting their ballots for the candidates of the Socialist Labor Party at the coming State election in November.

After the meeting, a number of questions were asked and answered, and forty-four pamphlets were sold. They went like hot cakes, especially "What Means This Strike?" The supply of which was completely disposed of. Many more could have been sold of same. The meeting was a complete success.

The same night the multo cocco Socialist party of many names, and shady games, advertised a meeting on the green or public square, with the aid of a drum corp playing national strains a la Carey; but they could not collect enough listeners and like an Arab they folded their tent, or rather their counterfeit platform, and stole away.

Sunday night the 21st Comrade Corregan spoke at our headquarters at 349 State street, to a good sized audience. His subject was "The Socialist Labor Party vs. the Economic League." This "Economic" League or "Comical" League, as Comrade Corregan called it, is a tail to the Demo-

cratic party kite, started to land a few skates and labor fakirs into office, as seen in Hartford, Ansonia and Bridgeport lately.

Comrade Corregan handled the subject in a masterly manner. All the fake movements of the last thirty years were taken up one after the other, from the Greenback movement, right down to the Social Democratic Kangaroo, showing conclusively, that they were all started to down the Socialist Labor Party but always failed, and would always fail, and like all counterfeits, would be found out sooner or later.

Fourteen books and three subscriptions for The Daily People were taken at this meeting.

Comrade Connolly will speak here on the 25th. Comrades keep up the fight all along the line as the time is ripe for results.

Long live the Socialist Labor Party! S.

GLAZERS STRIKE.

Wilmington Factory Completely Tied Up.

Special to The Daily People.

Wilmington, Del., Sept. 26.—The strike of the glazers at Blumenthal & Company is still on, and it is reported that the firm is tearing down the Bower machines and putting side machines in their places. Three machine fixers came out yesterday and this makes a complete tie up. The factory is picketed by the strikers and any one that applies for work is at once informed of this trouble. This firm has been unable to get any non-union help so far, but it is reported that the firm is sending their leather to Newark, N. J., to be finished. The strikers are orderly and so far have the sympathy of the public. The girls say they will not work with scabs, and if the firm tries to put non-union help to work the girls will walk out.

The union requests that all glazers remain away until the trouble is settled.

All political parties, other than the Socialist Labor Party, hold to the existing order: their platforms contain nothing but platitudes and salves with which they promise and hope to make the impossible possible, and the unbearable bearable.

## CALIFORNIA POLITICS

THE "SOCIALIST" PARTY IN THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL-ASTIC ASS.

Placed Between the Haystacks of Republican and Democratic "Friends of Labor," and Makes Some Corrupt Moves—Its Deal With the Notorious Republican Henchman, "Labor" Mayor Schmitz.

Special to The Daily People.

San Francisco, Cal., Sept. 24.—Two great problems which occupied the attention of the schoolmen of the Middle Ages were, "How many angels can stand on the point of a needle?" and, "If an ass be placed midway between two stacks of hay, will he ever move?" The "problem of the angels" has been fully demonstrated by the many-named combination of Kangaroos, Debits and Parsons, whose gymnastic feats have so astonished plain, ordinary Socialists during the last two or three years. And now the "problem of the ass" seems about to be taken up by the Union "Labor" party of California. With no State ticket of their own in the field, and with Dr. Pardee, the Republican nominee for governor, stumping the States as the "friend of labor," and Franklin K. Lane, the Democratic candidate, boomed by labor leaders as "the man for us," the dilemma seemed beyond solution. But the so-called Socialist party is attempting, somewhat weakly to be sure, to break the spell by claiming the Union Labor party as its own particular ally.

In view of the fact that the notorious Republican "labor" Mayor Schmitz, and other lights of the U. L. P., are more than usually emphatic in their assertions that "labor and capital are brothers," while the so-called Socialist party is becoming more and more frantic in its claim to the Marxist philosophy, which asserts the contrary, any attempt to explain the relation between these parties might be somewhat confusing.

The "Socialist" party State convention, with its farmers' plank and other petty middle class tendencies, has been fully reported in The People. To-day their municipal convention was to be held. It assembled, but only to resolve to put no city ticket in the field. Those of the Kangaroos who are unable to throw off their S. L. P. training, fought this resolution with sound enough argument, but to no avail. It was the sense of the meeting that they would be traitors to the Union Labor party if they ran a city ticket, because that party had refrained from putting up a State ticket, so that it might not interfere with the S. P. This statement caused great astonishment in the ranks of the Union Labor party, whose members were not aware of any relations existing between themselves and the so-called Socialist party.

The gyrations of these most remarkable "Socialists" are amusing, but the capitalist politics of California are not likely to be much affected by them; that proletarian politics will suffer from them, and suffer badly, goes without saying.

TO THE SECTIONS AND MEMBERS OF THE S. L. P. OF CONNECTICUT.

You are hereby called upon to cast your vote on the proposed by-laws to the constitution for the State of Connecticut. The vote cast has to be sent to the secretary of the S. E. C. not later than November 1 on which day the vote closes.

Section New Britain has amended Article III, Section 1, the last sentence of which is to read: "A general vote is to decide as to place and date of the constitution." Insert in your voting blank: Amendment of Section New Britain: yes.... no....

Your S. E. C. desires to know your opinion about the proposition, of the S. E. C. of Washington about raising \$425 in our State to wipe out the indebtedness on The Daily People.

Connecticut State Exec. Committee. M. Lechner, Sec'y. 4 Bellevue street.

IMPORTANT!

To the Sections of the S. L. P. in Connecticut!

The "general ticket" containing the names of the State officers will also contain in their respective districts the names for the following offices, viz., Sheriff, Senator and Judge of Probate.

Any section that wishes to nominate candidates for the aforementioned offices should do so at once and report result without delay to the Connecticut State Executive Committee.

Mat. Lechner, Sec'y.

LABOR CONVENTIONS TO BE HELD IN UNITED STATES.

Labor organizations will hold conventions as follows:

October 1, Chicago, International Association of Car Workers

October 6, Fort Wayne, Ind., International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen

October 6, Pittsburg, Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union.

October 13, Louisville, Ky., Coopers' International Union of North America.

October 14, Bowling Green, Ohio, International Brotherhood of Oil and Gas Well Workers.

November 13, New Orleans, American Federation of Labor.

December 1, St. Louis Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen.







# A SHORT HISTORY OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN FOUR PARTS...

Dealing With the Most Marked of the Changes Which Have Occurred in the Making of Things Which Man Has Required to Exist.

WRITTEN BY AUSTIN LEWIS, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

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## PART I.

(Note.—It is the author's intention to issue this work in book form after its serial publication in The Daily and Weekly People.—Editor Daily and Weekly People.)

### INTRODUCTION.

The commodity presses itself upon our attention directly we begin to examine any problem of social import, that thing made by human labor and offered upon the market for sale, satisfying some human need, elevated or base, and by virtue of its function as a thing desired, challenging other commodities to exchange; thus forming the basis of that intricate and elaborate arrangement which we call commerce, for the protection of which armies and navies are maintained, and in whose name, and for whose perpetuation holocausts are sacrificed.

The fight of the modern man equally with the lowest savage is a fight for the possession of these instruments of satisfaction. The difference in kind and in number of commodities is the difference between the modern man and the barbarian, between savagery and civilization.

We may examine this commodity as regards its price—the ratio in which it exchanges at a given time with other commodities—we are then engaged upon a study of economics; we may study its mode of creation, the processes through which it passes before it reaches the market as finished product. This would be a technical study of the commodity, an examination into what Marx would call the making of the "use value," and then, again, we may eliminate all distinctions of kind in commodities and simply regard them as a whole mass of articles, presented for exchange upon the market, as products of human energy, as the results of human industry.

This last is the purpose which we have set before us, viz., to follow the most marked of the changes which have occurred in the making of things which man has required, without any special study of the processes involved in the study of any particular commodity, except in the cases where a change in the manufacture of a particular commodity, such as that in the manufacture of cotton a hundred and thirty years ago, has been preliminary to a general change in the mode of making commodities of all kinds, and has led to a new form of the organization of industry.

It will be observed that the term industry implies the division of labor, else it would be plainly improper to speak of the evolution of industry. If each person supplied his own needs in his own way, entirely independent of the rest of mankind, there could be no evolution of industry as such. But from the earliest times men have associated themselves together, having probably been compelled to do so in self-defence, and as a result of their mutual defence against external foes, have learned to combine against the common enemy, nature. They are not alone in this. Various animals and insects, which will be at once suggested, have also organized themselves into associations for the satisfaction of their needs.

The study of the evolution of industry, then, in the first place, becomes a study of the various forms assumed by the division of labor, the human arrangement for the making of things to satisfy human needs.

**PART I.—The Division of Labor.**

How, then, did this division of labor originate? Was it the result of that tremendous intelligence with which man is gifted, and upon which so much enthusiasm and self-admiration is bestowed? Hardly, for we have seen that certain of the lower animals at all events have displayed at least an equal degree of intelligence with the lower races of man, as we have discovered him in out of the way places and amid primitive conditions. The same degree of sagacity as marks the labor of the beaver, the same sense of prudence as distinguishes the bee, is hardly to be discovered among any primitive people. It was not the innate sagacity of man that determined his career as a maker of commodities as an organization of the labor force inherent in him, but the force of circumstances and the necessities of the case which drove a feeble animal, without any very effective means of defence, against the elements and the rapacity of the beast and his fellow man, to solve, one by one, the problems of subsistence as they were presented to him, and to use nature herself, his erstwhile foe, as his slave.

Looking back over the wonders achieved, the men of primitive tribes endeavored to typify the first triumphs of their race under the names of individuals, to describe as one great achievement of superhuman strength the startling records of human activity and progress through countless generations. Tubal-Cain and Prometheus are the naive explanations of great and permanent inventions and discoveries. We laugh at their childishness, but as a matter of fact the ascription of superhuman power to individuals who have accomplished social achievements is no more ridiculous than was the very recent and hardly now exploded notion that we owe all our progress to those great and mighty individuals among us, who have benignly and beneficently placed their intellect and physical powers at the service of mankind. When one comes to think of it there is very little difference in mental make-up and actual grandeur between the

naive hero worship of the early tribesmen and the later conception of the same idea in the mind of a Carlyle.

What the race has won the race has earned; and by the race we mean not the individuals whose names stand out as conspicuous landmarks to mark an epoch or an event, but the great common mass of men and women whose lives and experiences have been blended in what we call the experience of mankind and from the great stores of which the inventor and the organizer must draw his material he be never so mighty.

The division of labor is therefore the history of the race in more than one sense. It is to a great extent its record as seen in the passing events and incidents which go to make up history, and in a still greater and wider sense it is the sum of the mental activities generated by the efforts of man to solve the various problems which have been from time to time presented in his struggle for existence.

Men come and go, much of the result of labor is lost by the way, but the store continually increases in the treasure-house of mankind. Peoples must apparently begin at the beginning. They work out their first problems by themselves, and afterwards they spread out, come into contact with other peoples, who have themselves been solving their problems. They melt the one into the other and at the same time their different industrial efforts amalgamate, and the whole race is permanently endowed with the results of the separate achievements of its component peoples. New methods succeed the old ones and thus old arts decay and the skill achieved in certain directions to which the roads have been forgotten is evidenced by the finds in sepulchres and the ruins of long buried buildings.

It thus appears at first glance that the division of labor is not the result of individual but of social effort. It is not due to the transcendent ability of this or that man, but is, on the contrary, the stored-up knowledge of man, dealing with new conditions and amid a fresh environment. With this truth admitted disappears one of the most cherished ideas of a once exceedingly popular school of philosophers.

When Defoe put Robinson Crusoe on his desert island he little thought that the genial Yorkshireman was to become the center of a conflict with which any of those waged against his cannibal foes is very insignificant. Robinson Crusoe was a great find for the old individualistic political economist. It saved him inventing anybody. His economic man was made ready to his hand, and Robinson with his bags of potatoes has served as a model for all sorts of learned dissertations, from the greatest happiness theory down to the most modern abstractions in the shape of marginal utility.

But if Robinson was a favorite instance with the individualistic economist and philosophers, there is no reason why we should not use him on our side also, and he will be found at least a valuable example for us, and not as embarrassing as Professor Bohm-Bawerk appears to have found him to be. It is really worth considering whether Robinson in the flesh had ever half as heavy a load to carry, as he climbed the winding road to his cabin, as the learned Austrian has laid upon his back, and if he was nearly as surprised at the footprint of the savage as he would be at the marvelous legendarium shown in the handling of his modest bags of provisions.

True, Robinson was a mighty individual. He routed the savage tribes with a spirit and a measure of success which is very pretty to read about and he provided for his own comfort in an exceedingly satisfactory manner. His Yorkshire appetite and his Yorkshire anxiety about his food supply never desert him and he solves all the little problems incident upon his strange conditions with a dexterity which has been the wonder and admiration of school boys and still continue to be so.

But if Robinson had been the great individual, the supreme and all-conquering one, Nietzsche's "over man" incarnate, he should have started from the beginning. Defoe should have put him on the island a naked man, unequipped to begin his struggle with the elements. Then how long would it have been before Robinson would have found himself in the cannibal economic system.

Instead of that, one simple tool after another comes into his hands. An axe—O what generations, may ages of human toil and experience lay behind that axe which Robinson so easily finds and so skillfully uses? How immeasurably had the people to whom an axe was a familiar implement progressed beyond the savages whom Robinson met and to whom it was a strange and wonderful thing? And so with all the tools until the crowning one is reached, the gun, which made him master of the bird, the beast and his undeveloped fellow-man. Even had Robinson been placed on the island under the elementary conditions of which we have spoken he would still by virtue of the racial experience behind him and the greater brain development consequent upon his inheritance of racial experiences, been immeasurably the superior in resource of the savages against whom he had to contend.

All that Robinson had to owe to human society, to the aggregated experiences of countless men and women, who had been associated for generations on generations before his time. In fact, this typical individual turns out not to have been an individual at all, as far as the solution of his problems on the island

is concerned, but a broken-off section of a society which had formerly claimed him as a fraction, and composed of the same materials as the society from which he had been separated by shipwreck.

We have dealt with Robinson at some little length because through him we can reach a whole host of belated individualistic objections to the later philosophy of society and industry. Thus the utilitarian accounts for the growth of the organization of industry, the creation of the division of labor, upon the assumption that it was made in the pursuit of human happiness. This is an old idea. The argument runs something in this way: Every man desires to be happy; the sanction of every man's acts is this individual happiness; therefore, the evolution of industry has come about as the result of individual experimentation in the direction of individual happiness.

Unfortunately for this argument it remains to be proved whether there has been any increase in what may be termed human happiness, owing to the institution of the division of labor. Happiness is a sufficiently indefinite term in any sense, but it would puzzle even an individualistic philosopher to show that the terrible suffering and destitution which have been the lot of great masses of men at every period of industrial transition, has been unwillingly undertaken by them for the purpose of securing at most a doubtful happiness to other people, a happiness which is at the present time expressed in a slum-huddled and gin-befuddled submerged population called into existence, and doomed to extinction under circumstances of the greatest possible misery by the industrial organization invented by individuals, each one of them bent upon securing the greatest possible amount of happiness.

It would be hard in the history of human thought to find a theory so absurd in its actual results as the utilitarian. It was a ready-made affair, intended unconsciously to serve the purposes of the new capitalists and the Manchester economists. It has gone with lots of other lumber of the same kind. But it has to be mentioned because venerable old gentlemen who were at college when John Stuart Mill was a power, still put up their hands and deliver themselves of portentous platitudes based upon such utilitarian ideas. There are few things as persistent as a preconceived notion, and the ghosts of utilitarianism come back with depressing frequency to haunt the age of trusts and the dynamo.

What then are we to say? That men began the division of labor because they could not help it? Even this would be much nearer the mark. Men invented the division of labor because they had to do so or succumb. They must go forward or backward. There was offered for their choice in the prehistoric times, merely extinction or a new way of grappling with the environment. How many races perished because they did not discover a way of meeting the exigencies of the circumstances we know not, but one race at least worked it out and survived, and by continual modifications of its methods at long intervals still continued to survive.

This much we know at all events that the progress of a people in the sciences, arts, and all other things of that nature, is dependent upon the degree of efficiency which has been attained on the field of industry. We know also that these three things are the effects and not the causes of industrial progress, which depends, in its last resort, upon a much more prosaic fact and that the necessity of each man; woman and child eating at least one meal a day.

The object then, of the division of labor is the support of the group in which it is employed, not the support of the individual of the group, except incidentally, but the support of the group itself as a unit. As Professor Giddings says in a burst of candor and straightforwardness, as refreshing as it is rare among professors: "Industry is the solution of the problem of subsistence."

The division of labor then consists in the employment of different kinds of human activities to one definite end, and that is the substance of the group. It can only, therefore, be effected among the members of an already constituted society.

The industry of wandering tribes is of necessity a simple thing; comparatively speaking. Even here we find some differentiation of activities, but, generally speaking, each member is able to perform any duty which may devolve upon him at any particular time with regard to trial life. Thus, as Spencer points out, the industry of nomadic tribes in itself implies an absence of concentration and a dispersal over as wide an area as possible. All of which is naturally against the development of any complex system of organization.

Agricultural settlement, on the other hand, is much more conducive to a more complex form of industrial organization, but still does not give scope for this in any degree, at all comparable with later forms of the social structure. The various activities of agricultural life demand some sort of organization and arrangement, and in the patriarchal system there is a very complete and practical delegation of duties.

A later French sociologist has defined earlier forms of social life as consisting of repetitions of the same segments. This is rather an effective comparison. Thus in agricultural societies, the society is made up of farm after farm each of them presenting the same features, one being, as regards its economic structure, a repetition of the other.

The division of labor arises from and results in the breaking up of these segments. As its result we get the organized society of to-day, which is just the reverse of segmental. In the segmental form of organization, any segment may be injured or destroyed without any particular effect being experienced by the society as a whole. It is quite otherwise with the societies of to-day, at least with those which combined constitute the

# DEMOCRACY VS. IMPERIALISM

A Review of Modern Society in the Light of Ethnology and Economics, Showing That the Tendency of Capitalism is Toward a Revival of Democracy on a Higher Scale, in Which Imperialism Will Be Inconceivable.

BY H. S. ALEY, LINCOLN, NEBRASKA.

## The Teachings of Science.

Modern science, in the domain of ethnology, supplies ample evidence to prove that primitive man began his career on this earth as an extreme individualist or anarchist, if you please. It also proves that the Aryan and Semitic races, who, unassisted, worked their way from savagery to barbarism and thence to civilization, each and all passed through many phases of economic and political development. This science also proves that there is a law of development that, in the last analysis, dominates all social institutions; such as the moral, religious, domestic and political life of the individuals comprising the body social. Ethnology teaches that, no matter how remotely two races may be situated from each other, that, making allowance for variations in natural surroundings, in the same stage of social development, the thoughts, acts and characteristics of these two races, as made manifest in their social institutions, will be much the same. In the light of the above teaching, we contend that all races, who, unassisted, have reached the stage of civilization called capitalism have used from anarchism to communism, thence to a higher status of individualism, and that all those who have reached a high state of capitalist civilization, like England, France, Belgium, Germany and the United States, are now ripe for the change back to a higher form of communism.

Among all primitive societies the form of government was some type of democracy, and the unit of such societies was the gens, but as soon as gentle society, that was based upon communal property, gave way to political society that is based upon private or individual property, then did the form of government change from that of democracies to republics and monarchies as we now know them to-day.

Taking the above facts as the bases of our argument, and at the same time viewing the future in the light of the past, our conclusion is that the tendency in all highly developed capitalist States is not toward imperialism, as personified in monarchy, but, on the contrary, toward a higher type of democracy, to harmonize with the higher type of communal property that, in the near future, must take the place of the present system of private property in all capitalist countries if social progress is to continue.

The history of the Aryan and Semitic races proves beyond doubt that the line of least resistance, socially, has been from individualism to communism, from communism back to individualism, and the logic of events now goes to show that the line of least resistance, socially, for the further progress of these two races is from individualism back to communism. If this proposition be true, then all savage, barbarian and semi-civilized nations must follow in the footsteps of the Aryan and Semitic races would they live in harmony with the law of social development.

## Government Under Gentile Society.

In order that we may show clearly, in fact, prove, the above thesis, we shall draw very freely from Lewis H. Morgan's "Ancient Society." He divides the prehistoric period into six ethnic stages—three of savagery and three of barbarism, the last stage of barbarism ending with the discovery of the phonetic alphabet that, in turn, ushered in the prehistoric period, or civilization. He shows, after the first stage of savagery up to the advent of civilization, that all property practically was held in common by the unit of gentile society, usually the gens, and that, as we stated in the beginning, the government was some form of democracy.

Under primitive society the gens was the unit and it was composed of a consanguine family, with the same name and the same language. A phratry was composed of a number of gens that spoke the same language. A tribe was composed of a number of phratries speaking the same language. A gens was composed of a number of phratries speaking different dialects of the same language.

Morgan shows that government under savagery and barbarism passed through three stages, the first stage or form being a council of chiefs elected by the members of the gens; the second was a government coordinated between a council of chiefs and a general military commander, one representing the civil and the other the military functions of government. Both the council and chiefs

great modern system. The least upset or disturbance in the industry of the one is the cause of suffering and misery in another. A drought in Dakota may set the children of a London carpenter crying for food, a financial disturbance in Vienna sends the daughters of a San Francisco banker out into the world to earn a living.

Spencer gives a definition of social evolution, which appears to fill all the requirements of such a definition. He says that "in the course of such evolution, small and simple types first arise and disappear after short existences, that these small and simple types are succeeded by higher, more complex and longer lived types; and these again by others which give promise of greater longevity and a higher type of existence."

The evolution of industry fulfils all these conditions; it has kept step in its complexity, with the growing complexity of society; it has been the cause and the reason of the complexity in society. In its growth to a more and more involved machine, it has dragged along with it society willy-nilly, but always in pursuit of the same object, the satisfaction of human needs, for, underlying all the superimposed grandeur and magnificence of modern civilization, the same problem, the problem of subsistence, lies at the base.

(To be continued.)

were elected by the members of the gens. The third stage was a form of government that was composed of a council of chiefs, an assembly of the people and a general military commander, who, toward the end of gentile society, evolved into a king.

The Spaniards took the Aztec Confederacy for a monarchy but in this they were mistaken. These people were in the second stage of barbarism and the gens of the Aztecs held their lands in common. Montezuma, the supposed king, or monarch, was simply the general military commander of the Aztec Confederacy. This confederacy was composed of three tribes and was governed by a council of chiefs and a general military commander. Each of these three tribes was supreme in the administration of its own local affairs; in fact, stood in much the same relation to the confederacy as do our States to the federal government.

In primitive society, the gens was prior to the phratry, the phratry to the tribe and the tribe to the confederacy. The phratry was the unit of worship also the unit of military organization. While the general military commander was at first elected by the members of the tribes, for life usually, after a time the office became hereditary in one particular gens, hence it was but a short step to monarchy. When discovered by the Spaniards, the custom of the Aztecs was to elect their general military commander from the Aztec tribe, but the power of electing their commander had already passed from the hands of the people into the hands of the council of chiefs, who, in turn, was supposed to represent their respective phratries. The general military commander could take no decisive step without first consulting the council of chiefs. This council had the power to depose its head or military commander and elect his successor.

Their form of government was a modified military democracy, as the council of chiefs was elected by a general council of the more influential people. The Peruvians when conquered by Pizarro were in about the same status of barbarism as the Aztecs when conquered by Cortes.

Aside from the Aztecs, all the other aborigines of North America in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were in the last stage of savagery and the first and second stage of barbarism. The form of government in all was much the same. At this time several confederacies had already been formed, the more prominent of which were as follows: The Iroquois, composed of five tribes; the Creeks, composed of six tribes; the Ottawa, composed of three tribes; the Dakota League, composed of seven council fires, and the Moque, in New Mexico, composed of seven pueblos. All these were military democracies, in which the members of the gens ultimately ruled. The higher they were in the scale of development the nearer they approached the types found in Mexico and Peru, under such chiefs as Montezuma and the Incas. These two confederacies were rapidly approaching the same stage of social development when discovered by the Spaniards as was Rome at the time of Romulus, B. C. 753, and Greece under the leadership of Solon, B. C. 594.

## Greece Under Gentileism.

In primitive Greece, the same as among the aborigines of North and South America, the gens was the unit of the social system, not the family, as many suppose. Under gentile society, the family was not and could not be a unit, as the husband and wife, save in rare exceptions, belonged to different gens.

At the time of Solon, descent was in the male line; the property of a deceased citizen went to his gens, as, under gentileism, he could not will it to one not a member of his gens. With slight modification the gens phratry and tribe regulations of the Greeks were the same as the Iroquois. The Grecian phratry was a combination of several gentes for religious and fraternal purposes. It was also the unit of military organization. In other words, the tribe went to war by phratries. The gens had its Archon, or chief, who also officiated as priest in the religious observances of the gens, and each phratry had its patriarch who presided at its meetings and officiated in the solemnization of its religious rites. Each gens, phratry and tribe spoke the same dialect of the same language. The Basileus was a chief who stood at the head of each tribe. He also possessed priestly functions, but it is not known that he had any political power. During the heroic period of Greece—B. C. 800 to 750—the Athenian government bore a close resemblance to the Aztec and other American confederacies that had reached the second status of barbarism, as it was composed of three parts, viz., first, a council of chiefs, that was doubtless selected by the chiefs of the gens from their own number; second, the Agora, an assembly composed of all the people who desired to participate in its deliberations, and, third, a Basileus, or chief, who possessed the attributes of a judge, priest and commander of the military forces.

In the Agora, or assembly, all questions of general interest were discussed and then voted upon by a show of hands, and such vote usually influenced the council in its final decisions.

The Athenian gentile military democracy was transformed into a political democracy under the leaderships of Solon (B. C. 594) and Cleisthenes (B. C. 509), and as a result property ceased to be communal and became individual.

The economic or industrial revolution that made this change of ownership possible had been going on for 200 years. Not, however, until Cleisthenes had discovered the idea of the deme or township was the political revolution that changed the system of ownership made possible.

In short, the system of production was individualistic before private property in land was a possibility.

## Rome Under Gentileism.

Previous to the time of Romulus (about 753 B. C.), the Romans comprised a loose confederation of thirty tribes. They were then in the upper status of barbarism. The Roman gentile society was composed of gens, curia and tribes that finally united in a confederacy. Ten gens made a curia and ten curia made a tribe, but, under the leadership of Romulus, all the curia were combined into three tribes. The government comprised an assembly of the people, to whom all important matters were submitted; a council of chiefs or senate, composed of first of 100 members or one for each gens, but after, the number of senators was raised to 300, that is, 100 for each tribe; lastly, there was a head war chief, or Rex, who also possessed certain religious functions.

In short, the Roman government, in this status of barbarism, was practically the same as that of the Aztecs, Peruvians and Greeks in the same stage of social development.

## Social Customs Compared.

To bring out more clearly our contention that the social customs of mankind are, in the main, determined by a law of social development, we will briefly compare the leading social characteristics of Rome, Greece and the Iroquois Confederacy in the same status of barbarism. They are as follows:

### Rights, Privileges and Obligations of the Members of the Iroquois Gens.

(1) The right of electing its Sachem and chief; (2) the right of deposing its Sachem and chief; (3) the obligation not to marry in the gens; (4) the mutual rights of inheritance of property of deceased members; (5) reciprocal obligations of help, defence and redress of grievances; (6) the right of bestowing names upon its members; (7) the right of adopting strangers into the gens; (8) common religious rites; (9) a common burial place; (10) a council of the gens. (From Morgan's "Ancient Society," page 71.)

### Rights, Privileges and Obligations of the Members of the Grecian Gens.

(1) Common religious rites; (2) mutual rights of succession to property of deceased members; (3) a common burial place; (4) reciprocal obligations of help, defence and redress of injuries; (5) the right to intermarry in the gens in the case of orphans, daughters and heiresses; (6) the possession of common property, an archon and treasurer; (7) the limitation of descent to the male line; (8) the obligation not to marry in the gens except in the specified cases; (9) the right to adopt strangers into the gens; (10) the right to elect and depose its chiefs. (Ibid, page 225.)

### Rights, Privileges and Obligations of the Members of the Roman Gens.

(1) Mutual rights of succession to property of deceased gentiles; (2) the possession of a common burial place; (3) common religious rites; (4) the obligation not to marry in the gens; (5) the possession of lands in common; (6) reciprocal obligations of help, defence and redress of injuries; (7) the right to bear the gentile name; (8) the right to adopt strangers in the gens; (9) the right to elect and depose its chiefs. (Ibid, page 285.)

Taking Rome as the best example of what course political institutions took in ancient and classical times, with the Aryan race, and we find they evolved, under communal property, in the strictest sense of the word from pure democracy to military democracy. About the time of Romulus the military democracy was gradually transformed into a monarchy, which form of government lasted for about 250 years. It was during this period of Roman history that the economic revolution was completed through which communal property was transformed into individual property. In the year 508 B. C., the Roman Republic was established, which lasted until the year 27 B. C., at which time the Roman Empire came into existence; that, in turn, lasted until A. D. 476, when Rome as a nation ceased to be. Be it remembered that the political institutions of Rome, under the republic and empire (a period of 984 years), was based upon private property, while under the kings, the system of ownership was mixed, being part communal and part individualistic.

When the barbarians came in—who were still gentiles, and as such held their lands in common—the institutions of Rome became blended or mixed with those of its conquerors, and civilization was deflected from the straight course it had been pursuing for nearly 1,000 years and resulted in a new social system—the Feudal—that was a mongrel or cross, economically, in that it was semi-communal and semi-individualistic. Using a biological term to express our meaning, and we might say the feudal system was atavistic in that it was a reversion to the ancestral type, socially, or to the conditions that existed under the kings, B. C. 753 to 508, but in a higher or, at least, more complex form.

## Influence of Private Property.

Morgan says (page 341): "When property had become created in masses, and its influence and power began to be felt in society, slavery came in." Again he says (same page): "With property came in also the principle of aristocracy, striving for the creation of privileged classes. The element of property, which had controlled society to a great extent during the comparatively short period of civilization, has given mankind despotism, imperialism, monarchy, privileged classes and, finally, representative democracy."

On page 342 he continues: "It seems probable that democracy, once universal, in a rudimentary form and repressed in many civilized States, is destined to become again universal and supreme." Again, on page 552, Morgan says: "Since the advent of civilization, the outgrowth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding and its management so intelligent, in the interest of its owners, that it has become, on the part of the

people, an unmanageable power. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation.

"The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property, and define the relations of the State to the property it protects, as well as the obligations and the limits of the rights of its owners. The interests of society are paramount to individual interests, and the two must be brought into just and harmonious relations. A property career is not the final destiny of mankind. The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence, and but a fragment of the ages to come.

"The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim, because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes."

We have seen that the industrial revolution in gentile society, by which the ownership of land was changed from communal to individual, preceded the political revolution by many years, so in modern capitalist society is the industrial or economic revolution preceding the political revolution that will institute the change from individual back to collective property.

To-day this industrial revolution is practically complete, in that the dominant work of present capitalist society is being done on a collective basis, and while the ownership of the dominant industries under capitalism to-day is, in a sense, collective, strange as it may seem the collectivity that does the work in these dominant industries does not own the product that comes into being as a result of their collective effort, but, on the contrary, this product is owned and controlled by another collectivity, viz., the shareholders in the trusts and joint stock companies that to-day are dominating the industries of this and all other capitalist countries.

The political revolution will have been completed when the ownership of the land, machinery and all other natural and social opportunities shall have been transferred from the hands of these modern brigands—the above shareholders—to the whole social body, the entire collectivity. The road to social progress lies in this direction. Once this political and industrial revolution is complete and imperialism, as personified in a monarchical form of government, is inconceivable.

Hence, if our contention be logical, that the line of social progress, for capitalist society, is toward the collective ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution, then we conclude the modern world is tending toward democracy, not imperialism.

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The laborer is the owner of his labor-power until he has done bargaining for its sale with the capitalist and he can sell no more than what he has—i. e., his individual, isolated labor-power.  
—Karl Marx.

## "NON-PARTISAN" POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS.

The Iron Moulders' Journal for this month gives encouraging evidence of the soundness of the Socialist Labor Party tactics towards the pure and simple trades union. The S. L. P. tactics embrace two points:

1. That boring from without is essential to drive the labor fakir from his stand;

2. That the labor fakir however driven will never willingly give up his attitude of being a bar to the enlightenment of the rank and file.

Both points are proven by the Iron Moulders' Journal.

In an article on the "Echoes of the Convention" recently held by them it starts saying:

"Both in the resolutions offered and the reports of the several committees there breathes a certain progressive spirit that can not be mistaken. Indications are not lacking that the members of the Iron Moulders' Union are breaking away from the tenets of the old school of trades-unionism and taking their place in the younger school, with broader views and a more comprehensive grasp of present conditions. It is painful, at times, to witness the tenacity displayed by workmen in holding on to something that was deemed good a quarter of a century ago, even in face of the daily demonstration that its day had passed. That is a conservatism which still has its place in the old school, but that school is passing, and there is abroad a desire to adapt ourselves intelligently to changing and changed conditions."

Such language is new; it is language never held before by pure and simpledom. Originally, pure and simpledom was perfect. It is now admitted that it is not; that old methods may fall behind date and new must be adopted. That is the direct result of the banging from without that the crew has received.

And as to the second point, this is the closing passage of the article:

"It is advised that non-partisan political and economic questions be discussed."

Here is the old cloven hoof. "Non-partisan" politics and economics! As well talk of the play of Hamlet without Hamlet. All economic, all political questions, are "partisan" because they all are reflexes of class interests. Present these questions in "non-partisan" style, and the point is taken from all, and they become as insipid as stale beer. None knows this better than the modern labor fakir; hence none is more anxious for "non-partisanship." It is synonymous with a helpless, because unfutured, working class.

## THE REALLY RESPONSIBLE AGENCY.

The "Typographical Journal" for September "tells its own tale." Two passages from the tale it tells will, in their turn, tell the tale for the rest.

The leading article is entitled "The Philosophy of Strikes." It is not here intended to animadvert on the title. It is given merely to designate the article. In it the following passage occurs:

"It is not the workman that is responsible for these strikes, but the great industrial system that is at fault, and it is this system that is on trial. Labor is not responsible for these strikes, but the capitalist system alone is responsible, and must be prepared to pay the price for all its ill-gotten luxury, until such time as it may be called upon to surrender its plunder to its rightful owners—the workman and his despoiled family."

The newspapers that furnish the great reading public with their knowledge upon this strike question rarely, if ever, mention the evils of this industrial slavery—for that is what it is—but harp constantly upon the "tyranny of labor," the "unjust demands of labor leaders," or throw a few sentences from the Bible, or possibly an adage or so from some old slave driver, that they have saved out of the musty past, that will bolster up this false civilization and continue it in its iniquities.

Without even as much as the interval of a leaf, behind which to shelter one's surprise and give one time to recover his breath—in fact facing the very article just quoted from—appears

another article in the course of which the following passage from the Boston "Herald" is reproduced on the late Cincinnati convention of the union:

"At the annual meeting of the International Typographical Union in Cincinnati, last week, the printers showed an admirable conservative spirit. For one thing, attempts to justify a boycott on trivial grounds were frowned upon. One of the most important actions was on a resolution offered by a Pennsylvania delegate forbidding members of the union to join the State militia. The resolution was rejected. It has been the case in various labor unions that hostility to the militia has received approval. The fact that the militia has occasionally been called out to check rioting among strikers has been sometimes foolishly represented as an indication that the citizen soldiery is hostile to laboring men, and a special agent of the employers. No reasonable can well be more unreasonable than such an opinion. The militia is never called out in case of a strike except for the suppression of lawless acts, and there is no class of people who get more ultimate benefit from the maintenance of law and order than the workmen. A Cleveland delegate, who is a recognized Socialist leader, offered a long resolution in favor of abolishing the wage system. The committee on laws reported against it, and the report was sustained by an almost unanimous vote. This large organization of printers appears to be controlled by conservative, level-headed men, and not by revolutionists."

Surely, with the writer of the first article quoted from, it must be said that, not the workman, but the great industrial system of slavery is responsible for the disturbances, generally serious, that result from strikes. But, in view of the second article quoted from, and published in the "Journal" without adverse comment, is all said that there is to be said on the subject when the responsibility is laid to the door of the industrial system? Nay, does not such a passage, from one of "the newspapers that furnish the great reading public with their knowledge upon the strike question," and quoted by a labor journal without holding it up as a horrible example—does not that bring out the fact that the inanimate "guilty industrial system" is upheld by living beings; that some of these beings are the runners of the newspapers mentioned; and—last not least—that, back of these living beings, there are others, who act as resounding boards for such poisoned information as reaches the rank and file—these resounding boards being the runners of labor or pure and simple trade journals, in short the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class?

## THE "E AND E UNION" AN "N. G. UNION."

There is hardly a day passes but what some genius discovers a solution of the labor question! Some men seem to regard that day badly spent in which some new solvent is not added to the already superabundant and useless number. Now, then, all hail to the latest! the discovery of a manufacturer of a cereal food that is warranted to put grey matter in the heads of brain workers and strength in the muscles of athletes. He calls it the "E and E Union."

"Under the ruling of the new union a contract," to quote the grey matter and muscle builder, "is entered into between the employer and the employee for six months or a year at a rate mutually fixed. The employer deposits a satisfactory bond in the hands of the treasurer of the union equal in amount to twenty-five dollars for every employee, and each employee deposits each pay day two cents on the dollar of his pay until he has deposited with the treasurer of the union the sum of twenty-five dollars."

"If the employer does not keep his agreement he forfeits \$25 to the employee, and the employee likewise forfeits out of the sum he may have on deposit up to \$25 if he fails to keep his contract."

The trouble with this "new" union is that it is old, very old. It has been tried and found wanting and if the parties with whom it originated were asked to name it they would call it the "N. G. Union." They are inclined, when speaking of it, to draw on their grey matter for descriptive terms, with an energy that would require considerable cereal food of any kind to make good the expenditure. And the man who proposes it to them is likely to encounter a waste of muscle that will cause the same thing to hold good again.

The "principle" at the bottom of the "E and E Union," is precisely the same as that which existed in the agreement entered into for one year by the firm and employees of Wicher and Gardner, shoe manufacturers, Brooklyn, N. Y. The firm deposited a check of ten thousand with a trust company and the employees paid five per cent. on their weekly earnings until a sum equalling \$25 for each male and \$15 for each female employee was created and deposited with the firm at six per cent. interest.

During the year in which the agreement was in force the employees suffered greatly. The agreement had the effect of destroying united action among them. Rather than forfeit his or her \$25 or \$15 each and every employee submitted to impositions and exactions. This resulted

in a determination on the part of the employees to rid themselves of an agreement which had proven so onerous to them and so profitable to their employers. They, accordingly, struck at its termination against a demand for its renewal. For six weeks the "E and E Union" had it out, and by a strange irony of fate, the very fund which the employees had created by their weekly percentage payments, and which had been the means of their degradation, now became the means of their relief. Utilizing this fund, with the six per cent. interest paid by the firm, the strikers were enabled to stay out until the firm surrendered, by granting an increase of wages and better conditions.

This in brief is the history of the original "E and E Union" and its transformation into the "N. G. Union."

It shows that like most labor solutions advocated by employers, the "E and E Union" is of temporary benefit to employers only. It endures until found out by the degraded workers. Then it becomes impotent and denounced.

We respectfully suggest that the new exponent of the "E and E Union" diet on his own cereal food in order to create sufficient grey matter and strong muscle to tackle the labor question in a manner that will solve it.

There is only one union that will solve the labor question: that is the "C. and L. Union"—the union of capital and labor in production by the abolition of the capitalist class, thus ending the divorce between the workers and the means of production and distribution.

## THE OLD TUNE COMING UP AGAIN.

The language of the Democratic press, encouraged by the results of the retirement of Speaker Henderson, foreshadows the return of the old Democratic fly-paper tune of "free trade" or tariff reform to catch the Labor vote.

It is therefore in time to suggest to the workers that they carefully clip all the tariff arguments they come across, and ask themselves, Where does Labor come in even if the tariff is lowered or wholly removed?

The wages of the workman depend upon the ratio of men needed and men seeking employment. A lower tariff does not raise the demand for labor; can not raise it; improved machinery privately owned by free-trade capitalists, as well as by protectionist capitalists, constantly displaces labor, ever raising the supply and proportionally reducing the demand. In view of this, even if a lower tariff lowered prices, it would not, it could not raise wages. The price of labor—and that is wages—would be lowered proportionally.

The tariff reducers need the labor vote, and they seek to capture it with their accustomed demagoguery. Labor sells now in an open market—the openest of all markets—the world's market. There is nothing for Labor from that quarter. All the actual advantages of free trade can accrue only to the employer; they can not accrue to the working class so long as the employers' social system—Capitalism—is in existence.

## THE PHRASE THAT KILLS.

The numerous and remarkable strikes that have been occurring of late, have revived a phrase that belongs in the category of "phrases that kill." It is this, that strikes represent the awakening of labor.

Was it an "awakening of labor" that caused several years ago the Garment Workers of this city to go out on strike at the dictation of the Philadelphia clothier, who, for the purpose of outstripping a New York competitor that was crowding him, enlisted the services of the labor fakir in the Garment Workers, and caused them to strike against the New York firm?

Was it an "awakening of labor" that caused, two years ago, several thousand cigarmakers in this city to remain out on strike, fully six months after their leaders knew the strike was hopelessly lost, but yet needed to strike to keep themselves in picket-committee jobs?

Is it an "awakening of labor" that is causing the anthracite miners to indulge the vision of a victory and suffering the trials of a strike, when the whole thing is but a move of the soft coal mine barons to create a market for their goods while utilizing the miseries of the wretched miners to induce them to strike?

Was it an "awakening of labor" when, in this city, the trolley men allowed their hard conditions to be used by Wall street speculators, who incited a strike so as to "bear" trolley stock, and when that was done, left the strikers with broken heads and bruised limbs to surrender unconditionally?

No need of multiplying examples. With the strike and other such manifestations it is as with the egg. An egg is a potential chicken. It is not a certain one. If it is not hatched within a certain period, evolution goes back, and the chicken becomes an impossibility. The labor-fakir-led strike is an egg that is kept from the warmth necessary to lead to the chick. To-day, with the ample experience back of the people, the strike is not an "awakening of labor"; it is just the reverse. It is an evidence that La-

bor is slumbering, and slumbering hard, narcotized by the poison that the labor fakir breathes into it.

The sign of an "awakening of labor," gathered from strikes, awaits the reaching of the masses by that education which the Socialist Labor Party only, together with the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, is able to impart, is imparting, and is successfully imparting—as attested by the deep malevolence against both manifested by the modern oppressor, clerical and lay.

## GETTING READY FOR THE CIRCUS.

The clamor of the Democratic press of this city on the possible nomination of Sheldon as the running mate of Odell on the Republican ticket, foreshadows the sort of a circus in store for the voters of this State in the coming election.

The Democratic outcry against Sheldon is on his corporation record. In big scare lines the public is informed that Sheldon is:

Treasurer of the North American Company,  
A director of the Cincinnati Edison Electric Company,  
A director of the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company.

A director of the Milwaukee Light, Heat and Traction Company.

A director of the Central Oil Company.

Second Vice-President of the City Trust Company.

A director of the Consolidated Rubber Tire Company.

A director of the New Amsterdam Casualty Company.

A director of the Panama Canal Company of America.

A director of the Republic Iron and Steel Company.

A director of the Bag and Paper Company.

Having enumerated all the corporations in which Sheldon is known to be a leading figure, as though these were so many sins to the credit of Sheldon, these Democratic papers then proceed to "point with pride" to the "distinguished citizens" who appear on the roll of Democratic delegates to the State convention.

Surely, if a hand in corporations is a disqualification, as it certainly should be, for an office presumed to be of, for and by the people, then it must follow that "distinguished citizenship" in Democratic estimation should be marked at least with just the reverse of such corporation affiliation. And this is just what the Democratic outcry means to suggest, but the suggestion is a suggestion of a falsehood. From J. Edward Simmons down to Randolph Guggenheim, everyone of the "distinguished citizens" picked out to attend the Democratic convention got his arms steeped up to his elbows in corporations, and, what is more, not a few of them, notably J. Edward Simmons, are fellow directors with Sheldon in a number of corporations!

Thus the scenes are being fixed for the great annual circus. Republicans will point with horror at Democrats, and Democrats will point with horror at Republicans, and the horses will be lashed to run their best, and the clown papers will halloo, and the working class will be asked to foot the bill.

The Hartford Board of Health suggests that banks, corporations, manufacturing and financial institutions disinfest their old currency. Considering the source of some of this wealth, the suggestion is a good one.

The Philadelphia Press stated the other day that new plants are decreasing the Steel Trust's control of the iron and steel output. On top of this comes the report that independent plants are being throttled by the trust withholding coke and ore supplies upon which they are dependent. How is that for trust "destruction"?

Brooklyn is a great place. Five-pound eels get into the water pipes and put factories out of business there; while the citizens of that delightfully somnolent borough are stirred into activity by the thought that possibly their internal anatomy may be working overtime as a branch of the State fish hatchery.

The ten-ounce baby born in this city recently was certainly a very small creature. But there are other small creatures, who, unlike the baby, are such by choice—those handmaids of capitalism, the Social Democrats, alias "Socialists," for instance. Compared to them, ten-ounce babies are of heroic proportions.

The Secretary of the Treasury has "anticipating" the payment of interest on bonds due on October 1, in order to relieve the capitalist class of the financial stringency. The government is a great anticipator, when capitalist interests are involved. In times of strike it "anticipates violence" by sending out the militia to provoke disorder. And yet there are parrot-like workmen who repeat the capitalist falsehood that this is a government for, by and of the people.

Wouldn't it be a beautiful thing if the government would anticipate the threatened inability of the working class to buy coal this winter, by taking money out of the treasury and putting it in the pockets of the working class? Wouldn't it be beautiful? It would indeed; but then all dreams are more or less beautiful. Capitalist government is no dream. It is a reality in the interest of the capitalist class. Money taken out of the treasury goes only in the pockets of that class.

Don't fail to push the Workers' Republic at the Connolly meetings.

## SOCIALIST APHORISMS

## The Truth of Working Class Philosophy and Economics Tarsely Stated.

The very fact that men are dependent upon the owners of the machinery of production for their privilege of employment, limits their lives, rendering them abject slaves, for life depends upon labor.

To the statements that "Things are like that," "Must be so," "Can't be changed," history defiantly and openly flings the lie. All periodic conditions of intolerance, misery or degradation have been endorsed and sustained by those who profited by them, or upon whose economic interests those conditions depended.

Not reform, but revolution has effected the progress of the world.

The only difference (and all-inclusive) which characterizes the Socialist Labor Party from the other alleged Socialist organizations in America is the former's honesty in the Labor Movement.

The borers from within, the "Socialists" who work successfully (?) in the pure and simple trades unions and, who succeed in having Socialism expounded and endorsed by the organizations, and force the "labor" press to print "Socialistic" matter, even forget one central point: What of all the above, so long as they are forced to endorse imbecile tactics and impotent measures employed by pure and simple unionism? What about their fake strikes, assessments, label agitation for bankrupt small manufacturers and business firms, soliciting of favorable "labor legislation" (which is in time of need declared unconstitutional) and their "peace conferences"?

Whenever an Alliance of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance fails to appropriate a more exhaustive lesson from capitalism and its methods, or fails to conduct itself more virile and intelligently in the Labor Movement than a pure and simple union it does not fulfill its mission.

Socialism is primarily an economic question derived from the most prominent and important experience of history (which is the written statement of human events, for history is of no value unless it comprehends clearly the imminent and direct effect on the human race of all its trials and actions). The history of this earth shows that there has ever been a disparity, yes, more, a struggle between two great social classes, the one gaining possession of the earth and the other crude means of production simply through its superior brute force, sometimes emphasized by divine dispensation, so-called; the other great social class dependent entirely upon the former. That plain fact constitutes what is known in Socialist thought as the class struggle, gradually developing through slavery, feudalism to capitalism, working with subtler methods, since now, brute force has been eliminated to an extent, and subjugation to capital effected by other means of deception.

In our modern life we find the means of production and distribution in the hands of one class—the capitalist class—while the other great class—the working class (in the United States comprising about 60 per cent. of the population)—operates them, thus producing all wealth, but owning neither the wealth nor the means of wealth.

Socialism demands that the means of production and distribution be owned by society and worked co-operatively, making every able human being a truly useful social unit.

Socialists do not purpose a dividing-up of wealth; we have that now to the extent of eighty-two to eighteen with the ruling class.

As soon as man became a tool-making animal his zoological history ceased, and he became a creature of economic import only.

The basis of Socialism is purely materialistic, though not so in the erroneous sense in which materialism is so often, unfortunately, employed. Its connection or identity with sensuality is too often misunderstood. The sum of all history, which is but the written experience of the human race, shows that the development of society or social forms and institutions have proceeded solely from the economic development. It further reveals the fact, common to all experience, that there has ever existed social classes, one maintaining supremacy over the other simply through its prestige in the maintenance of the economic functions.

The source of human happiness lies in the manner in which society lives and has its being, and that, lastly, upon the way in which it (society) produces its necessities and distributes them.

The very lives themselves of the various teachers and preachers of "spiritual life," "social uplifting," "religious aspiration," "social reform," "moral culture," etc., all of which are imputed with having the qualities essential to the redemption of the human race, give the lie most emphatically, despite their protestations to the contrary, to their argument that material well-being is not the foundation to spiritual and intellectual development.

The capitalist class, groaning under the excess of wealth stolen from the exploited class, is, and by the laws of nature must be, corrupt. When all men have the chance to become useful social units, receiving all they are worth to society in general, then will we have a well organized material foundation.

The trades union as an economic organization must conform to the economic conditions of the present day; it cannot retain old forms and methods.

Through the efforts of modern educational doctrinaires and reformers, manual training has been incorporated into our

system of education. Manual training as such is essential to the complete education of the man, but under capitalism its service is merely to act as another competing factor against the working class.

Trade autonomy is a much mooted question with the pure and simple unions. Be opinions what they may, one point must be admitted, that trade independence forces "scabbing" by one trade or craft on another allied craft, and yet it cannot be helped under the present industrial arrangement. Fellow workers, quit your simple tactics, with its short sight and even dishonesty. Organize on a class basis, conscious of your interest as a class.

A business man or manufacturer to be class conscious (of his own class interests) may be entirely ignorant of the technicalities of economic literature. He only instinctively refers to "business principles."

Evidently under capitalism the intuition theory of morals is buried very deep. A very irrational utilitarianism prevails, with "every man's happiness for himself" as the motto.

## BUCKEYE.

Well may the spirit of Karl Marx arise in protest from his grave at the deeds that are committed in his name and the class-conscious international Socialist movement of which he was the inspiring genius and organizer! The great Socialist movement of Germany, that was once the terror of Bismarck and fought his old-age pension schemes as a police regulation of the poor law, has ended by demanding their extension to all classes of the working people! This demand will be made the campaign issue in the coming Reichstag elections. As a result of this demand the German Socialists expect to obtain 3,000,000 votes and 100 seats in the Reichstag, as against 2,100,000 votes in 1898 and 53 seats in the Reichstag. Thus, in order to insure the success of number, the German Socialists have diluted their revolutionary program until its features are hard to distinguish it from the program of their quondam opponent, the Iron Chancellor, Bismarck.

The German Socialists were a greater factor for Socialism when their numbers were fewer and the development of their country was less capitalistic. Then they dominated not only the policy of the government of Germany but the Socialism of the world. To-day, forced by the backward development of capitalism, as compared with this country, to the consideration and settlement of many questions anterior to the social question, backed up by a spirit of opportunism, they are nothing but liberal capitalists and free traders, advancing Bismarckian pension schemes and opposing the imposition of "the hunger tax," occupying in the latter case a position precisely the same as that of the corn law repealers of England in 1848.

Liebkecht, in discussing the Bismarckian pension schemes, said: "He who takes up the question of social reform honestly must place the lever at the wrong relationship between production and consumption, and abolish the exploitation of the working classes by capital—abolish, therefore, the wage system. That is social reform, and, carried out thoroughly, social revolution."

When measured by this test, how puny, indeed, seems the campaign issue of the once great Socialist Party of Germany, and how startled must be the protesting spirit of Karl Marx at the deeds that are committed in his name and the class-conscious international Socialist movement of which he was the inspiring genius and organizer!

The London Daily Telegraph expresses the belief that the trusts will have nothing to fear for a long time to come from President Roosevelt's proposed Constitutional Amendment "regulating them." Roosevelt knows that also. He has no intention of really proceeding against the trusts.

Don't fail to push The Workers' Republic at the Connolly meetings.

The steel trust has anticipated October interest and released \$19,000,000 to aid the money market. Now it will be interesting to see the independents and the small middle class manufacturers of all shades "anticipate" some. How many millions can they release? Or is a "tough time" during the stringency the only thing they can "anticipate"? Decimation, not anticipation, is their lot.

The striking miners in the anthracite coal regions are emigrating westward by the thousands. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company has given special cars to accommodate the throngs. Four thousand are going into the bituminous districts in Westmoreland, Clearfield, Armstrong and Beaver counties. These counties are mainly controlled by Pennsylvania Railroad interests, who are large factors in the fight now going on between the soft and anthracite coal interests. Enough said.

The Imperial Tobacco Company will buy out the American Tobacco interests in England and will make concessions to the American Tobacco Company of territories outside of England sixty per cent. The cotton mills of the South are to merge in a large hold company capitalized at \$25,000,000. All this occurs in territory where competition has been fierce and unlimited. And yet free traders and tariff revisionists tell us that competition will end consolidation. Back to the woods, Willie; back to the woods!

With Watterson denouncing the smart set and Jerome the corrupt set, with capitalists in the midst of financial stringencies and protracted coal strikes, who, says this isn't the worst of the best possible system?

The Bay State Democrats have repudiated the Kansas City platform in favor of Bryanism. But it demands substitutes that are just as absurd, tariff reform and the curbing of trusts being the most conspicuous.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN.—The Socialist Labor Party is good in many things, but it is bad in quite a few.

UNCLE SAM.—Which?

B. J.—It is narrow.

U. S.—For instance.

B. J.—If a man don't suit it, they won't let him in.

U. S.—When the cholera scare was on, I remember you went home with your pockets bulging with bottles containing muriatic and all sorts of other acids; what did you do that for?

B. J.—To keep the cholera microbe out.

U. S. (with mocking emphasis).—Narrow man!

B. J.—"Narrow" your granny! Do you think I'm going to let those heathen things walk into my innards, and rip me all up from within? Not much, I won't!

U. S. (with increased mock emphasis).—NARROW MAN!

B. J.—"Narrow" be hanged! Would you be broad enough to let them in and experiment upon you? I would not.

U. S. (with deliberation).—I repeat it: you are a NARROW MAN. That is to say, according to your own application of the term. If it is "narrow" on the part of the Socialist Labor Party to keep out "cholera microbes" from getting into its innards and ripping it all up from within; if it is "narrow" on the part of the Socialist Labor Party not to allow admission to "cholera microbes" and giving them a chance to experiment upon it; if that is NARROWNESS, then art thou narrow too for not giving such microbes a chance.

On the other hand, if you are not NARROW for not being disposed to afford such microbes a chance of rioting in your system, then, and for that same reason, neither is the Socialist Labor Party narrow for acting, as a body, upon the same principle that you do. Now take your choice: Either you are as bad as the Socialists in point of "narrowness," or they are as good as you in point of "broadness." Which?

B. J. sucks his thumb in perplexed silence with a got-left-again-by-Jove look on him.

## THE RAMPANT JEROME AND HIS WORK!

Jerome has spoken, and in speaking he has rent a good many false beliefs, assiduously cultivated by the capitalist class; and, in so doing, has given point and emphasis to Socialist Labor Party argument and contention. Provoked to excitement by a man who questioned his statements on labor, Jerome, irascible and brutal, blurted out feelings which showed the enmity existing between capital and labor, and that, too, in a house devoted to the promotion of christian brotherhood, thus showing that there can be no brotherhood, even in such a house, when there are conflicting class interests in society. Continuing with the same irascibility and brutality, Jerome exposed the demagoguery of the "labor" leader, his deceit, arrogance, servility and corruption, thus making clear that the capitalist class regards these men as tools to be despised and of no consequence, only when used in the interest of their class, a contention that the Socialist Labor Party has all along insisted upon. Finally, Jerome, still warm from the provocation mentioned, still irascible and brutal, warned the workmen against aggressions upon capital, predicting the destruction of their political liberties as a result, a possibility against which the Socialist Labor Party warned the working class long ago, a possibility which it foresaw in the various disenfranchisement acts passed by legislatures both North and South.

The American working class should not lightly dismiss Jerome's utterances. They are the outpourings of conditions and sentiments that are bound to burst forth most unexpectedly with volcanic violence. They are the reflex, as are many other notable utterances and incidents of recent date, of a society in which conflicting class interests exist. They are the reflex of a system that can only be removed by changing the basis of society from the private to the social ownership of capital, in the orderly, evolutionary manner advocated by the Socialist Labor Party. Workingmen, learn this lesson before it is too late!

The Republican State Convention's anti-Trust plank reminds us of the function of a German joke: "It is to laugh." i. e., create laughter. The platform pledges the party to support legislation that will suppress combinations destructive of competition in legitimate enterprises. The Sherman anti-Trust law is such legislation; yet, under it, combinations destructive of competition like the Standard Oil Company have not been suppressed. The fact is that the Republican party will maintain that since such a combination does not control every bit of trade absolutely, it is no combination destructive of competition. The anti-trust platform of the Republicans is, under the circumstances, a huge joke.

Arbitration is a success. With hard coal at fifteen dollars a ton and soft coal prices going up, who'll say it doesn't pay—the operators?



## CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, bearing their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

## On the General Vote.

To The Daily and Weekly People—With a majority of 379 votes, exclusive of the vote of Section Greater New York, and a majority of 580, including the vote of that Section, the membership of the Socialist Labor Party has decided that it declines to be secured into a National Convention by issuance of statements that say very little but assert very much.

Naturally enough the question arises, What were the hidden motives of the would-be turmoil creators? Or, if no such hidden motives existed, what was their moving spring? The proposition can hardly be entertained that all of them were moved by personal animosities, jealousy or vanity. More than one of them surely acted in good faith, duped by the "statement" issuers and blinded by the dust that these raised. These dupes did not use their reasoning faculties. If they had, it could not, for instance, have escaped them that the strongest arguments advanced by The Daily People killers entirely lost their point, when those arguments were turned against the National Executive Committee, and the fact was made clear that it was by other than the hands of the N. E. C. that The Daily People had been mismanaged. Nor could the logic hold water that sought to blame the N. E. C. for severity towards the previous management of the paper, after it was shown that it was the recklessness and incapacity of that old management that had nearly ruined the paper.

And now as to the motives that animated the "statement" issuers themselves. Let us look into these motives as they peeped through their utterances. Leaving apart such personal and base motives as anyone could see through, inquiry will readily reveal the fact that these men were not in accord with the principles and tactics of the Socialist Labor Party, least of all with the Party's self-enforced discipline as established by the Party's national and other conventions.

To begin with Hickey, it will be remembered that he, according to a statement in his "statement," wanted the officers of the Party to let him "help build up the Alliance in New York" by "a new method of organization," and he said that, if he was not allowed to do that in the winter of 1901-1902, there would be a snap of his hand that would make the 10th of July look as mild as a Quaker meeting. Is not that the talk of a desperado, rather than the language of a man who is in accord with the aims, principles and tactics of his Party, or who recognizes the necessity of orderly and constitutional methods of procedure to introduce the changes he deems advisable?

In the Pierce "statement" one great, monumental being is visible on every page. It is Mr. Pierce, what HE had done for the Party, and what HE was able to do for the Party. To put the Labor News Company on a paying basis and keep it there was to him of more importance than everything else, included. For was not he the manager of that L. N. C. Y? To think of the Party national officers entertaining the slightest thought of using the proceeds from that L. N. C. for the maintenance of a daily press in the language of the land! Only criminals could hatch out such a base scheme, according to Mr. Pierce. To Mr. Pierce the ideal Labor News Company was one that had ceased to be a Socialist Labor Party agency, but something that should be a "Party" unto itself, or rather a Pierce agency.

Now for a morsel of the Curran batch of "statements." Says he: "Recalling that the present Managing Powers were RESPONSIBLE for the exploitation of the Seldenberg Spectre and THE KANGAROO REVOLT, the latter a purely internal matter and both retained in lengthy installments in the Party organs," etc., etc.

After all the disgrace that the Kangaroo element has heaped upon itself, we here still find an S. L. P. man disgracing himself and the Party by insinuating that a class-conscious workman's party could by any possibility still have been keeping company with such elements—and it not been for the national officers! A stronger compliment could not be given to these national officers. Moreover, the conception is false and antithetical in the highest degree. If the membership at large had not at the time been as clear-sighted as their national officers, then Socialism in America would be represented to-day by nothing else than the maddening Social Democracy of not only the "new tendencies" found in Europe, but of all the various new and old tendencies that can be imagined. Curran and the backers of his "statements" evidently are sore on the national officers for having deprived them of the fellowship of the Kangaroos.

Coming down to "The Thirty-one," or rather "The Thirty," one of the names being a forgery—are they found mentally above their predecessor "statement" issuers? The following passage is found on the last page of their "statement": "For practical lessons and models in organization we must go to the Socialist parties of European countries rather than to the capitalist parties of this country." In the first place, this suggests the falsehood that the national officers of the S. L. P. are trying to have the Party emulate the capitalist parties of this country. In the second place, what shall be said of the intellect of persons who would have the Socialists of America seek "practical lessons and models in organization" in Europe, from European Socialists, at the very time when the economic evolution is driving the capitalists of Europe, polewards, to go to America for "practical lessons and models in organization" as the only remedy for their own capitalist society? Such a position as that taken by "The Thirty" means that the labor organization that has to deal with the most perfectly developed capitalist organizations of the world should seek information from labor organizations that have to deal with inferior capitalist forces. The reverse will happen. The Socialists of

Europe, when the capitalists they have to deal with shall have emulated the American capitalists, will be also forced, as their capitalist oppressors before them, to LOOK TO AMERICA for "practical lessons and models in organization."

Finally, coming down to the "statement" of the now defunct Pennsylvania State Committee, that "statement" clarifies the motives just analyzed and carries them to their logical, self-destructive conclusion. The fresh charge brought against the Editor of The People of his having an animosity towards religion, gives a clearer insight into the backward motives of the Curran production, and the fossil motives of the production of "The Thirty," while the anarchistic and overbearing attitude struck by that State Committee is but the logical climax of the attitude struck by Hickey and his set.

The purpose of this review is to point out that this latest of "uprisings" against the Party is closely akin to all previous ones. They are the action, not of men animated by the spirit of true, class-conscious, progressive, revolutionary Socialism, but of men animated with the spirit of backwardness, men who are casting admiring eyes to European Socialist organizations that rest entirely upon the trades union movements. But these trades union movements of Europe are declining, just as much as the trade union movement, pure and simple, of America is declining, and the Socialist organizations which they now support will soon have to rebuild on more solid ground. These "uprisings" are started by men, itching for leadership, longing for big crowds of followers, rather than for solidly grounded organizations of workers who know their aims and know that those aims cannot be reached without conscientious labor, directed by knowledge, skill and experience. They are started by men whose minds are not freed from prejudices and superstitions and whom, therefore, the membership of the Party is doing right to ignore.

This review refrains from charging these men with inherent and intentional baseness, perversity or depravity, although the acts of some of them look ugly enough. It is my purpose to impress upon the membership the fact that, while a misconception of the true spirit of Socialism and lack of virility for the fray cannot and must not be considered a crime, nevertheless, ignorance, incompetence and weakness are liable to prove as fatal as intentional wrong, nay, that the former, if long-persisted in, cannot escape running into the latter. Accordingly, it is not the part of the Party to lament the loss of men who have demonstrated their ingrained backwardness. Let them run, and if they do not want to run but try to stay and make trouble, let us MAKE them run! We must part with them in one way or the other, or they will hold the whole Party back and arrest its further progress.

New York, Sept. 23.

## Coates Vindicates the Socialist Labor Party.

To The Daily and Weekly People—I am sending you a clipping from the Colorado Chronicle, the organ of Lieutenant Governor Coates. In it you will see that the honorable gentleman handles former Governor Thomas with more force than elegance, and hints that the latter gentleman is not all he should be.

Open confession, it is said, is good for the soul, and certain it is that Mr. Coates, the editor of "a labor paper, both industrially and politically," must feel considerable relief in not having to stand sponsor for Thomas any longer.

It is quite true, as Mr. Coates says, that Mr. Thomas denounced the Bull Hill men as "anarchists and murderers," and also referred to them as "wild and unmanageable beasts."

The Socialist Labor Party in Colorado, but this before the workingmen of the State in 1898, when Thomas was running for office, and, as a consequence, were referred by Coates as "union wreckers," and as "against the best interests of the working class."

Coates was for Thomas then; he knew then what he is saying now. Then he ran away from every Socialist Labor Party man who threw this into his teeth; he deliberately betrayed labor into the hands of the man who was, and is, the foremost hiring of the enemy in the State—he did all this, writing himself "fakir" in letters of fire, and to make sure that no man of any degree of intellect above the idiot could possibly mistake his nature and his record of treachery, he puts himself conspicuously on record once more.

His reward for doing the dirty work of Thomas was the nomination for the lieutenant governorship, which he obtained after a piece of treachery toward a friend and trades unionist notable even in fakirdom.

And now when his usefulness to the Democratic party is a thing of the past, this disgruntled skate takes refuge in that haven of freaks, the "Socialist" party. Now he is in a position to speak out what he thinks of his former allies, and the result is that the position of the Socialist Labor Party then, and now, is vindicated in every particular: which, I believe, is something worth recording.

Coates' connection with the "Socialist" party has not been lacking in amusing features, one of which was the demand made upon him by the convention of that party that he resign his office, in view of the fact that their constitution especially forbids the holding of an office by a member under any form of capitalist government.

Some of the delegates, who really meant what they said, and represented the proletarian element, as against the collection of middle class freaks, who represent the "Intellectuals," carried the convention against Coates, and he was formally expelled from the party. He left the convention hall in high dudgeon, declaring the adverse action to be spite work, and the outcome of petty jealousy.

The next day, under the tears and lamentations of the "Intellectuals," the "Christian Socialists," the "Socialists"

became frightened at the horrible prospect that confronted them if Coates were put out, and kept out, until he should conform to the principles of the party, and the ejected one was solemnly voted back into the fold, the glad news being carried to Denver by a committee headed by R. A. Maynard, one of Coates' undertrappers.

Such is life in the far West among the strenuous Socialists. Edward Boyce, whom they nominated against his will, has retired to Montana, and resolutely refuses to run. He doubtless realized that these were features in him more attractive to the "Socialists" than his political or trades union prestige. Fraternally.

H. J. Brimble.

Florence, Col., September 23, 1902.

## [ENCLOSURE.]

The State convention of the laboring man's party (7)—the Democratic party—was absolutely run by the Hon. Charles S. Thomas, one of the most prominent corporation attorneys in Colorado, the gentleman who in 1894 denounced the Bull Hill strikers as "anarchists and murderers" and who did all in his power to have United States troops turned loose to kill the striking miners standing for the eight-hour workday. This labor representative went so far in his zeal for the interest of the corporations as to insist that the Democratic convention pass a resolution congratulating Mr. John C. Osgood and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company on their victory over John W. Gates. The resolutions committee refused, however, to recommend such a resolution, and Charlie was afraid to take the matter into the convention. A member of the resolutions committee told Charlie that he ought to be ashamed of himself as a citizen and a member of the bar, to offer such a resolution. Every evidence showed that Gates owned the majority of stock of the corporation and he ought to be allowed to run it, and then again the Colorado courts had been branded from one end of the country to the other by United States Judge Caldwell because they would not give Mr. Gates justice in his contention to manage an institution which he owns. Mr. Thomas wanted the Democratic party to applaud such injustice, and then he shouts "anarchy" if workmen violate the laws in a demand for bread. But then Charlie wanted to serve his corporation masters and secure the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company's support of the Democratic ticket. The labor union to which Charles S. Thomas is attached should discipline this labor champion.

## On the Roumanian Jew Question.

To The Daily and Weekly People—The following facts will interest the readers of The People now that there is such a hubbub about the Roumanian Jews.

When the Jews of Roumania were about to obtain political freedom in that country, the capitalist Jews sent a petition to the government in which it was stated that the other Jews were too ignorant and that they were "foreigners." It is for this reason that the poor Jews of Roumania have no political freedom. As to the signers of that petition—the capitalist Jews—they all have political rights. I could not obtain all the names of those who signed. The following are all I could get:

Michel Daniel, Albert Daniel, Leon Daniel, Maier Weissengreen, Dr. Tausig, Dr. Stern, S. B. Moscovice, W. Last, M. Posen, S. Zibals, L. Focksane, Isaac Liebovici, D. Wardoun.

It is also interesting to point out that Michel Daniel has in his house a room to which no one is admitted. That room is expressly built for the Messiah to occupy upon his arrival in the world.

Henry Jager.

New York, Sept. 24.

## Berry Wins Gardner Audience.

To The Daily and Weekly People—

We had with us last night our nominee for Governor, M. T. Berry. Although he was suffering considerable pain from neuralgia, he did a fine job for us. We had an attentive audience for about one and a half hours, consisting of about two hundred; it was fearlessly talked to, yet all, with few exceptions, remained until the chairman adjourned the meeting. One little incident called forth applause from the crowd in unison, showing they were interested.

Comrade Berry was answering a question as to why Roosevelt don't settle the coal strike, when a drunken old-line party man called from the other side of the street: "What do you know about Roosevelt?" Berry exclaimed: "That is Democrat and Republican argument!" But the fellow insisted, calling again: "What do you know about Roosevelt?" When Berry exclaimed to him: "Say, if you will go and have a pair of hinges put on that jaw, so we can close them, I will like your mouth for a hall to speak in to-morrow night." The burst of applause which greeted this sally caused our inebriate friend to meander away, showing us it was interest and not curiosity which held the crowd.

We disposed of 50 Weekly Peoples and 200 leaflets on "Why Vote for the Socialist Labor Party." Our meeting was a success.

On next Tuesday, September 23, at Muller's Opera House, our Organizer J. Anderson will give Gardeneries an instructive address on "Revolutionary Socialism." We expect a good attendance; many, last night, expressed a desire to be there. We will also start into getting Monthly People subscriptions. I think that will be the best propaganda paper of them all.

Pierre Brouillet, Secretary.

Goerke in Lima, O.

To The Daily and Weekly People—That the working class is susceptible to the teachings of the Socialist Labor Party was again simply illustrated in this city, this evening. Comrade John D. Goerke, on his tour of the State, arrived here yesterday noon and immediately made preparations, such as putting announcements in the local daily capitalist papers, which, by good luck, they put in free. The evening came, but rain prevented a meeting,

## LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

A. B. PRETORIA, TRANSVAAL.—The Independence, Mo. Labor Exchange is like all such "Socialisms in a tea-pot," a scheme of visionaries, which inevitably develops in crookedness and has to be supported by dupes.

J. W. R. LYNN, MASS.—Your suggestion has been anticipated, though not yet executed. The official record of the many named Social Democratic party, branding it corrupt, will be preceded by an introduction such as you indicate. It is already written up.

A. H. H. LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Say that a Socialist Labor Party member is discovered to be connected with a capitalist party, and is acting the spy in our ranks. He cannot be expelled until tried, etc., according to the constitution. Would you allow him to stand in the Party with full membership rights, and accordingly, with full opportunity to continue his nefarious practices? The Party has answered the question of going to the aid of an interrupted line of precedents, never even objected to, an accused member is suspended pending trial every time, in the judgment of his organization, the case warrants such action.

J. NEW YORK.—You are not the only one who has written to inquire. Carey was left out of the record of Social Democracy corruption by a mere printers' accident. He was in originally. When the matter was rearranged in its proper place, the paragraph containing him in cold type was accidentally left out in making the forms.

T. D. PROVIDENCE, R. I.—You are right when you say that "Party member may have wanted, and voted for, a special convention without being animated by the motives, or pursuing the purposes, of the Curran batch of 'statements.'" The bulk of the minority that voted for the convention belong to the category you mention. They should, however, have taken the precaution of going to the aid of an interrupted line of precedents, never even objected to, an accused member is suspended pending trial every time, in the judgment of his organization, the case warrants such action.

A. LEVY, formerly of Bridgeport, Conn.—Is requested to send his address to Mr. Rosbach, organizer of Section Gloversville, N. Y., 78 Orchard street.

S. S. R. NEW YORK.—All such matters are merely internal Party discipline. When the Social Democrats seize upon them, they are simply proving their own weakness. If, indeed, such internal Party rows are evidence of the worthlessness of the Socialist Labor Party, what must be the worthlessness of the Social Democratic party, against whom, not internal bickerings are adduced, but a long list of corrupt political dealings.

D. T. C. FITCHBURG, MASS.—Last week's Letter Box answer to you had no responsibility for the error, that the corrected answer is given now.

"Why, man, the present troubles are nothing to the troubles the S. L. P. will yet have to go through. Just wait until The Daily People has 100,000 readers, mind you, until the Party has 100,000 READERS, not VOTES—the capitalists can always control the vote: it is in their hired men who do the counting, they will see to it that a large vote be not counted for the S. L. P.—But Readers, that's a horse of a different color. One hundred thousand readers of The Daily People will mean that the end of capitalist rule is at hand, votes or no votes—then look out for trouble. Not by ones and twos, as at present, but by whole squads, will the capitalist powers elect and lay, try to capture and settle the Party. It is no such prospect enough to enlist the bravest of the land, and call forth the best that there is in them, a stand firm and not drift themselves for the final struggle? Who, say you?"

W. W. PITTSBURGH, PA.—So we are learning. It looks as if the Party will soon learn that the whole "uprising of righteous indignation" in Pittsburg was simply a desperate move of a few men, deeply involved financially, to straighten their accounts.

The weather continued threatening even this evening, but Comrade Goerke was determined to hold a meeting.

At 7.30 I mounted the box and introduced Goerke. The crowd which was small at first, kept on increasing, until Goerke had an audience of from two to three hundred. The applause and intense interest given was gratifying, and encouraging to the most weary.

The sarcasm, scorn and ridicule he heaped upon the capitalist class and its henchmen were highly appreciated.

Just as the speaker began, an on-looker stepped up to me and asked who the speaker was. I told him, also stating that he was organizer for the Socialist Labor Party. He then asked whether it was not the Debs Socialist Party. I told him no, and that Debs was no Socialist nor was his party. He wanted to argue but, I told him to ask the speaker, Goerke, the question: that I did not want to interrupt the meeting.

The meeting ended and questions were asked but our little friend never said boo! No questions were asked, no doubt on account of the explicitness of the speech. Ten pamphlets were sold and one subscription to The Weekly People secured. Quite a few names were also gathered on our State petition.

The comrades everywhere, I hope, are putting up as vigorous a campaign as the comrades of Ohio.

On to the Socialist Republic.

M. L. Hiltner, Landeck, Ohio.

Lima, September 19, 1902.

## Playing the Decey Ducks.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—At the street meeting in the Tenth assembly district, at the corner of Fourth street and Second avenue last Friday evening, a Social Democrat interrupted Hunter, who was speaking. Several times he wanted to know why we would not unite with them. He was told that the Socialist Labor Party never unites with a lot of fakirs and crooks, that were thrown out of the party for their traitorous work. While the Socialist Labor Party is trying to get the honest workmen out of the clutches of the labor fakirs, and organize them into the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, where they will be taught not only to fight the capitalists 364 days in the year, but also on the 365th day at the ballot box, where they are strong and the capitalists are weak, the Social Democrats are doing all in their power to aid the fakirs who ignore the power of the ballot as a working class weapon. We know that it is a waste of time to try to convert Samuel Gompers or John Mitchell—we might as well try to convert Mark Hanna or P. Pierpont Morgan. And for fighting the labor fakirs, and trying to organize workmen into an up-to-date trade union, the Social Democrats

call us scabs. After calling us scabs they come around and ask us to unite with them. The Socialist Labor Party has received numerous invitations, both from the Social Democratic party and from individual members of that organization, to unite with them. They are willing to unite with those they are pleased to call scabs. At this meeting there was at least a dozen Kangaroos in the audience and after listening to all of our speakers, who explained to the audience how the Social Democrats fused with capitalist parties and built armories for the murderers of the working people, they never said a word, they were afraid to fight back as a result of the manner in which our speakers showed up the misleaders of the working class including the Social Democrats. There was a rush for our literature and we sold twenty-three books instead of eighteen as at first reported. At a meeting in the Third assembly district not long ago Socialist Labor Party men asked some question of Kangaroo Fieldman, who was speaking for the Social Democrats, and as a result they could not sell one book.

A. S.

New York, September 20, 1902.

## EXPONING CAREY.

Boston Audience Listens to a Review of His Slimy Career.

Boston, Mass., Sept. 24.—Andrew's square, South Boston, was the scene of a very animated open air meeting, held under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party, last Tuesday evening. Chairman M. G. Power introduced M. D. Fitzgerald, who in a brief way traced the various forms under which society existed up to the abolition of the feudal system. As Comrade J. F. Malloney arrived at this point of Fitzgerald's address, the latter made way for Malloney, who took up the present condition of society and showed in his most convincing eloquence how the wage system maintains the capitalist system of exploitation, and continued to hold the large audience in a very interesting manner for nearly an hour.

Malloney had concluded, and intended to leave the meeting, when he was called back to answer a question from the audience, about the career and claims of James F. Carey as a Socialist. Malloney reviewed, in a very lucid style, the early and up-to-date history of the capitalist baptized "Socialist" party in this State, commenting very severely on the cowardly silence of McCartney and Carey in the Massachusetts Legislature when they should have called for the impeachment of Judge Braley, who decided that if any damage was done, the property of the Brine Transportation Company during the Boston teamsters' strike, he would hold the treasurer of the Teamsters' Union responsible. The Legislature has jurisdiction over the judgeship in this instance. The judge's injunction suited the Republican and Democratic Legislatures and, as a matter of course, the members of the infant "Socialist" party, so baptized by these legislators, nodded their approval. No dissenting voice was heard from them in the Legislature. Not so on the Prince Henry visit. That furious monarchial tail to twist, and Messrs. McCartney and Carey belovied Lord and viciously against the seign of German royalty, whereas against the capitalist judge and his injunction, not a word had been heard from either of them. "Shades of our noble forefathers," cried the bunco legislators of the many names party, "who fought and bled for the abolition of royalty, we cannot sit in this legislature while he is allowed to enter it."

Every workman who got his capitalist paper the next day, saw in it how valiantly the oratorical heroes slapped Prince Henry in the face, but about the judge's injunction, backed by Carey's "sanitary armory," capitalist militia, etc., etc., not a word was to be read.

Social Democrats, one of whom stated he was running for Representative in this district, asked many questions that were answered by Fitzgerald, Stevens and Powers to the entire satisfaction of the audience. "Won't you please give me the platform for five minutes to defend ourselves?" whined one of the Social Democrats who, like the other two, was suffering from the laceration and the indictments that were proven against their bunco party by the S. L. P. speakers.

The police officers who were detailed to attend these and all similar meetings were anxious that the meeting should be brought to a close—as the hour was late, near eleven, the meeting was opened at 7.55 p. m.—so Chairman Power informed the whiner that he was unable to give him the platform, but he guaranteed to have any question relating to the S. L. P. and the kaleidoscopic "Socialist" party debated on the same square any evening the Careytes named. "Send your challenge to debate as soon as you wish to Secretary M. G. Power, Socialist Labor Party Headquarters, 1165 Tremont street," said Power as he adjourned the meeting.

Most of the questions asked by these novices in Socialist science indicate a woeful ignorance or the softening of the brain. While this meeting was in progress another one, or rather a debate between Comrade Bresnahan and a "Socialist" decey duck (S. D.), was on in the Brighton district of Boston, the result of a challenge last week.

M. Dee.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union is excited over a poster which pictures Depew, Low, Jerome, Schley and Hill drinking whiskey from pint and half-pint flasks. They denounce this form of advertising and help thereby to advertise the advertisement and the whiskey. The lithographic firm that lithographed the poster and the whiskey firm that had it made, must feel very kindly toward the W. C. T. U. for calling attention to their product. If the celebrities named will only object to the use of their pictures as the W. C. T. U. demands, their kindly feelings will grow in a ratio proportioned to the additional advertising received.

## LIGHT IS BREAKING

"Every bad tendency will run its course, and Socialism will survive; then was to the men whose petty interests, mean ambitions and vile intrigues may have for an instant arrested its progress and smirched its name."

Los Angeles, Cal., Sept. 15.—The men, who signed the lampoon issued by the Pennsylvania State Committee that was, seem to want to convey to the party the impression that no trouble existed in Section Allegheny County, but that they were hampered by the troubles of other sections, particularly Section New York. To show the party members that the facts are otherwise, I will quote from a letter dated July 8, 1902, that I received from one of Pittsburg's active members. He says in part:

"There is much work to be done in Pittsburg, and local trouble has hampered our work. Comrade G. Brown was suspended for one year from the S. T. & L. A. for 'slandering' Comrades Eberle and Schulberg. After that Comrade Tesson was also suspended for one year from the S. T. & L. A. for slandering Schulberg. Now the grievance committee are investigating Eberle and Schulberg, and they have lots of dirty linen to wash. But in spite of this we are holding together. Comrades T. Lawry and McConnell have refused to speak until all is settled. What do you think of that?"

According to the above, they were just managing to hold together in July last. It becomes Eberle to defend Hickey, as Eberle was instrumental in passing the amendment which caused Hickey's banishment from the alliance. And to defend men who claimed to have confidence in the party outside of New York, and at the same time are entering suits against the party in capitalist courts, is conduct I would never have dreamed that the comrades who signed that lampoon would be guilty of.

Their criticism of religion and the editor of The People is silly. Have we not seen time and again the notice in the letter box of The People that the paper refused to be dragged into abstract discussions on "God" and "religion?"

As an ex-Pittsburg comrade I deeply deplore the detection of these men, and hope the N. E. C. will act promptly in reorganizing throughout Pennsylvania. The whole revolt within the party at present looks like this to me: A few grafters and discontents, who could not fasten themselves on the party or get jobs on The People, started to raise a row, and immediately every discontented or discouraged member, or those who had personal axes to grind, in fact, all the heterogeneous elements in the party, align themselves together in common cause to destroy The Daily People, and oust the party officers. In spite of all the accusations, lampoons and abuse, the fact remains that the very men who are trying to blame the party officers for all the party's misfortunes, were themselves directors of different branches of party work when all the disastrous things they complain of took place. Vogt and Fiebigler were managing The People's Dalton was national organizer; Vogt, Forker, Hickey and Murphy were on the N. Y. State committee; Eberle, Curran and the lampoonists were directing things in Pittsburg and Rhode Island. One might have pity for these men if they merely resigned, or gave up in despair, but to turn and blame others for their own shortcomings deserves nothing but contempt.

The minutes of Section Allegheny County and back numbers of the People will show that up to a few months ago the very men who now find so much fault with The People upheld it in every respect. As The People has not changed, the lampoonists must have changed considerably. The cry against "abusive epithets" comes with bad grace from men who call those that don't agree with them "hero worshippers," "fanatics," "blind followers," "idol worshippers," etc. Get The Daily People of Wednesday, June 18, 1902; read the report of the Pennsylvania State committee, and compare it with the late lampoon and you will have a contrast which will give you an idea how low these "latter day saints" have fallen.

Awake, ye militants of Pennsylvania; sink deep thy sword in traitor's flesh, and victoriously sing that sweet refrain: Oh, Multi-Cocca party, Oh, Social Democrat; In one State you have this name. In another you have that! You're tried to fool the workers With a brand new scheme or two; And when you try to jump the S. L. P. You're just like the Kangaroo.

H. J. Schade.

Buffalo, N. Y., Sept. 17.—You have noticed from the report of the vote cast by the members of Section Buffalo on the question of a special national convention, that the stand our section takes now on that question is the very opposite of the one it took when it adopted its published statement at its meeting of August 25 last, the vote being now 10 against 1 for the convention.

In explanation of this change of the position of the section we wish to state that it was caused by the light thrown on the whole question by the events and developments of the last three weeks, and by the additional information obtained by our section through our delegates to the last N. Y. State convention.

We hold that it is an absurdity to vote for a special national convention now, that the representatives of the opposition, who originally were clamoring for such a convention, and whose charges and grievances were to be aired there, stand branded before the whole party as rascally intriguers, cowardly slanders and general enemies of the Socialist Labor Party. No loyal and fair minded comrade can hold a different opinion of that gentry after having read the "Now, Frank, at them" letter of Schacter to Jordan, the report of the cowardly runaway of Curran from the last State convention of Massachusetts, the appeal of the Pennsylvania State committee to the sections in Pennsylvania to pull out from

the S. L. P., and knowing of the campaign of law suits instituted by that gentry against the party, and engineered by Hugo Vogt, who bluntly admits that "the Socialist Labor Party must be destroyed—absolutely so!"

With that whole camp of oppositionists so thoroughly self-photographed and self-branded by their latest utterings and actions, and the party administration thereby indirectly so thoroughly vindicated, it would be an unpardonable waste of the party's time, money and energy to hold a special national convention at this stage.

Hence the present vote of our section. Yours fraternally,

W. Vincent, Organizer.

Rankin, Pa., Sept. 20.—I don't know anything about New York, but if you have as many swell-heads as Pennsylvania in the Pittsburg district, then you have some of the greatest false prophets that the world ever produced. These fellows are worse than the preacher that said do as I tell you and not as I do. So I have come to the conclusion that we get Socialism when we can make artificial men that can be wound up and have no material interest or ambitions to be bosses or leaders.

I fall out of line until this fight is over.

G. L. Powell.

To The Daily and Weekly People—A few words to Comrade G. L. Powell, of Rankin, Pa., whose letter was published in The Daily People of yesterday. Your conclusion, Comrade Powell, that we can get Socialism "only when we can make artificial men that can be wound up and have no material interest or ambitions to be bosses or leaders," is utterly wrong. The right conclusion would be that we will get Socialism when the rank and file of the S. L. P. will be so thoroughly drilled by the bitter experiences it passes through—that it will be entirely beyond the reach of swell-heads, grafters and would-be bosses, and cranks in general.

And in order to reach such a state of perfection the S. L. P. needs the persistent work of those who can tell a counterfeit coin from a genuine one.

Those who would sail by the wayside every time there is a hunch in the onward march of the army of emancipation, are self-converted weaklings, and ought certainly not to boast of that fact.

Finally, let me assure you, Comrade Powell, if you are going to wait till this fight is over, you might as well make up your mind that you will never be on the firing line any more. This fight is nothing compared with the fights that are ahead of us. So you'd better change your mind and step up to the firing line right now. The future belongs only to the brave.

L. K.

Philadelphia, Pa., Sept. 25.

To The Daily and Weekly People—I read with great interest the editorial in The Daily People of the 11th inst., regarding the advice given to voters by the N. Y. Volkszeitung, i. e., to vote for any capitalist candidate rather than for De Leon. I rather wish that they would print a few more give-aways of that description. I showed it to a worker who is interested in Socialism, but who has not yet arrived at that point which would enable him to distinguish between the original S. L. P. and the bogus S. P. That editorial did more to convince him than any other piece of literature that I have shown him so far, that the party of many names is not a Socialist party, but merely a conglomeration of middle class interests, who feel they would be benefited by State capitalism, and not being of enough social importance to bring about such a state of affairs alone, they try to enlist sympathy by



